# THE COMMUNIST

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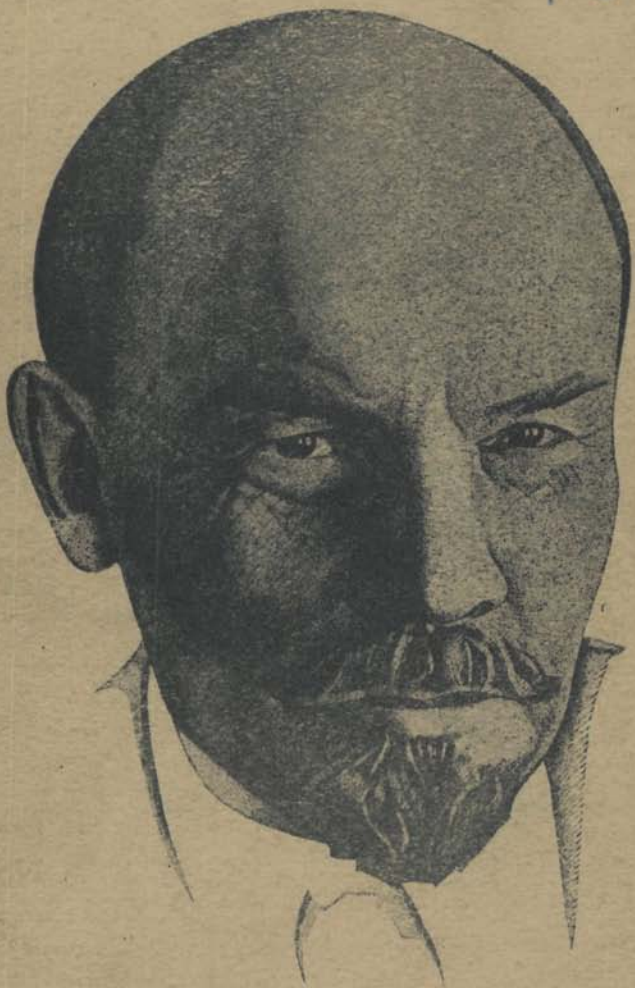

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# The Victories of Lenin

> "Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolution. To be more precise: Leninism is the theory and the tactic of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and the tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."—Joseph Stalin, *Leninism.*

LENIN'S revolutionary teachings live more firmly and vigorously today, on the tenth anniversary of his death, than ever before. They are the solid Bolshevik foundation on which a socialist society is being built in the Soviet Union. They are the chief revolutionary weapon of the proletariat and the oppressed masses of the capitalist countries and of the colonies in their struggle for power and freedom.

It behooves our Party and every Party member, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Lenin's death, to undertake to deepen greatly our own understanding of Lenin's works, and at the same time to popularize widely the theories and tactics of Leninism, and the achievements of the world revolutionary movement built on these teachings, among the broad masses. It is necessary to re-examine the rich revolutionary experiences of the American working class in the light of Lenin's teachings and the experiences of the world revolutionary movement, with the viewpoint of deepening also our understanding of these important experiences and lessons. Particularly now is it necessary to bring forward the glorious victories and achievements of Leninism and of Lenin's World Party, the Communist International, in contrast to the theoretical bankruptcy and miserable treachery of the Second International and of Social Democracy in every country.

The Twelfth Plenum of the Communist International stressed the ending of capitalist stabilization and the entrance into a new cycle of wars and revolution. The present prolonged cyclical crisis has deepened and sharpened greatly the general post-war crisis of capitalism, carrying capitalist economic activities to unprecedented low points, intensifying all imperialist antagonisms, sharpening the struggle for the redivision of the world, leading to a rapid turn to fascist terror, increasing the danger of counter-revolutionary intervention against the Soviet Union and, at the same time, giving rise to a powerful revolutionary upsurge of the masses with the maturing of a revolutionary situation in a number of countries.



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Under such circumstances the proletariat of the capitalist countries is faced more sharply than ever before with the question of the way out of the crisis.

For the workers of the United States: Shall it be the way of Roosevelt, the way of increased exploitation, of misery, of persecution, the way of fascism, of imperialist slaughter, the way possibly of a brief, temporary "revival" for the capitalists at the expense of the masses only to be followed quickly by still another capitalist crisis deeper and more painful for the masses than the present?

Or shall it be the way of Lenin, the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the way of proletarian struggle for power, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle for socialism?

These two roads, the capitalist way, the proletarian way, stand every day more clearly before the masses. The Second International and its American section, the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, support the capitalist way out. Behind phrases of "socialism" the Socialist Party supports Roosevelt's "New Deal", his N.R.A., the fascism and war program of Wall Street. By this support the S.P. here paves the way for fascism just as surely as it was paved in Germany by the German Social Democracy. The way of Roosevelt, supported among the masses by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Socialist Party officialdom, is the way to proletarian defeat, to greater misery, to war and fascism.

The way of Lenin is the way of proletarian victory. It is the victorious path to October along which Lenin's Bolshevik Party led the proletariat and the oppressed masses of Russia. It is the way to the victorious building of socialism, typified in the successful carrying through of the first five-year plan in four years, bringing with it a tremendous improvement of both the material and cultural position of the proletariat and the peasantry, and now to the glorious perspectives outlined in the second five-year plan, perspectives that even our bitterest enemies know will be realized by Lenin's Bolshevik Party with Lenin's best disciple, Comrade Stalin, at its head.

The achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union are not alone a victory for the Soviet workers; they are of world-wide significance. They stand out before the toiling masses of the entire world as proof of the possibilities under socialism, of the ability of the proletariat to build at a greater tempo than ever before in world history. They prove that with state power in the hands of the proletariat, the workers not only raise high their own material and cultural standards, but they elevate the whole of society. The collectivization of agriculture and the bringing of socialism to the backward Russian village has led, for the first time in history, to the elimination of the conflict between town and

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country; it has transformed the countryside from its former dreariness and cultural backwardness into a center of socialist progress.

The great achievements of the first, and now the second, five-year plans, resulting in the rapid transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward agrarian nation into one of the most advanced industrial nations, is every day strengthening the Socialist fortress of the workers, increasing the relative strength of the Socialist world as against the capitalist world, strengthening the position of the world proletariat in its struggle for power.

The way of Lenin, the road to October, is the road to peace. It is the only way of effective struggle against a new imperialist slaughter. The peace policy of the Soviet Union, Lenin's policy, carried out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has been one of the most powerful factors not only in preventing imperialist intervention, but in exposing the war preparations and plans of the imperialist robbers, their fake peace maneuvers, and in preventing war. Stalin's historic declaration, firmly carried out, that the Soviet Union does not desire an inch of foreign territory and is prepared to defend every inch of Soviet territory, has served as an effective check on the adventurists among the imperialists, backed up as it is by the powerful and excellently equipped Soviet Red Army. Lenin's Soviet peace policy, backed up by the toiling masses of the imperialist nations pursuing Lenin's tactics of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war (the fight against our own bourgeoisie, the persistent exposure of national chauvinism, the exposure of social democracy—the main social base of imperialism—in its support of imperialist war plans, the work for the defeat of our own bourgeoisie, the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of power) alone offers effective resistance to war; this policy alone leads to the overthrow of capitalism, to the victory of the proletariat, to the world October, to world peace.

A further victory of Leninism, of Lenin's world Party, the Communist International, is the heroic achievement of the Chinese Communist Party in its victorious leadership of the proletariat and the peasants in the setting up of the Chinese Soviets over a wide territory inhabited by over 100,000,000 people. It has withstood five anti-Soviet drives waged by the reactionary Kuomintang butchers, backed by the imperialist nations. It is now withstanding a sixth such drive with the same heroic self-sacrifice, with the same victorious achievements, as characterized the past. The Chinese Soviets stand out alone as the defenders of China against Japanese invasion and against the partition of China among the imperialist nations.

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The Chinese Communist Party has not only held and steadily enlarged upon the territory under the Soviets; it has established complete political freedom for the workers and peasants in the Soviet regions; it has confiscated the land of the landlords, dividing it among the former persecuted and impoverished peasants; it has raised the material level of the masses; schools have been started; the former backward China, long the prey of the imperialists, is beginning to move forward under proletarian rule.

Moreover, the Chinese Communist Party has continued to perform heroic tasks in the territory still under Kuomintang rule, leading the day-to-day struggle for the workers' needs, rallying the masses to resist imperialist and Kuomintang aggression, working in the Kuomintang military forces, preparing the way for the victory of the Soviets, for the establishment of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the Chinese workers and peasants throughout all of China.

These achievements, a victory for Leninism, for Lenin's teachings on imperialism, on the national and colonial question, on the colonial revolution and its relation to proletarian revolution, are of tremendous revolutionary significance. This revolutionary struggle in China has its repercussions in all countries oppressed by imperialist rule; it gives to Lenin's Communist International hegemony in the revolutionary struggle of the colonial masses for freedom; it insures the merging of the colonial revolutions with the proletarian revolutions of the imperialist nations in one struggle against world imperialism, for the world October.

These victories in the Soviet Union, in China, plus the heroic struggle of the German Communist Party, the Party of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and Ernst Thaelmann, against German fascist terror, under conditions of illegality, are testimony to the way in which Lenin built. He brooked no compromise with reformism; he fought relentlessly against all opportunist distortions from either the right or the "left"; he insisted on a Party with iron discipline, with Bolshevik political firmness, with the greatest Bolshevik flexibility; he created a unified Party leadership and hammered out hardened Bolshevik cadres, typified best by such uncompromising Leninist fighters as Stalin in the Soviet Union and Thaelmann in Germany. He built the world Party of Bolshevism, the Communist International, on the firm foundation of years of struggle for ideological clarity in the Second International, through the exposure of the social chauvinism and social imperialism of the Social Democratic leadership, through the war against their open betrayals during the period of the world war when they went openly into the camp of

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imperialism. He gave a bold clear line to his Party, discarding once and for all the revisionist policies of the Second International, restating and further developing the fundamentals of Marx, applying Marxism to the imperialist epoch, laying down the line of proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship, and Soviet power.

This way out of the crisis is the way for the workers of the United States. This is the road of Lenin. This alone will lift the workers out of the misery of capitalism, mass unemployment, starvation wages, brutal persecution. This is the road over which the Communist Party can and will lead, guided always by Lenin's teachings and by the Communist International, Lenin's world Party.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Lenin's death, and in line with the concrete directions of the Open Letter, our comrades must everywhere redouble their efforts to expose the fascist and war plans of Roosevelt, and the support given by the Socialist and A. F. of L. leaders to these plans; we must show the workers and convince them of the correctness of Lenin's road. The achievements in the world struggle against imperialism and for socialism must spur them forward here.


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# Lenin's First Speech After the Revolution

COMRADES: The workers' and peasants' revolution, of the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, is accomplished. What significance has this workers' and peasants' revolution? The significance of this revolution consists, above all, in the fact that we have a Soviet Government: our own organ of power, without any participation of the bourgeoisie. The suppressed masses themselves will constitute the power. The old State apparatus will be shattered to its foundation and a new administrative apparatus will be created in the shape of the Soviet organs.

There now commences a new epoch in the history of Russia. The present third Russian revolution must ultimately lead to the victory of socialism.

One of our next tasks is the immediate liquidation of the war. But in order to be able to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist order, it is obvious that capital itself must be vanquished.

In this cause the international labor movement, which is already beginning to rise in Italy, England and Germany, will hasten to our aid.

The just and immediate peace which we have proposed to international democracy will everywhere arouse an enthusiastic response among the masses of the international proletariat. In order to strengthen the confidence of the proletariat all secret treaties must be published.

In Russia a great part of the peasantry has said: Enough of playing with the capitalists. We shall go with the workers! We are winning the confidence of the peasants with a decree abolishing private property in land. The peasants will understand that they will find their well-being in alliance with the working class. We shall introduce a real workers' control of production.

We have now learnt to work in firm fellowship together. That is proved by the revolution which has just been accomplished. We have at our disposal that force of a mass organization which will vanquish everything and lead the proletariat to world revolution. In Russia we must now engage in building up the proletarian socialist State.

Long live the socialist world revolution!

---

* Speech delivered by Lenin November 7, 1917, at session of Petrograd Soviet convened to receive a report on the progress of the uprising and the formal announcement of the passing of state power to the Soviet.—Ed.



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# Stalin and Lenin

*By* L. KAGANOVICH

(*From a speech at the meeting of the Actives of the Moscow Organization of the C.P.S.U. concerning the work of the April Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., April,* 1928)

WHEN Lenin died, many of us experienced a painful feeling of uncertainty. Many thought: how shall we finish Lenin's work without Lenin? Thinking thus, comrades did not suspect that actually they were sharply criticizing Lenin himself. Lenin built our Party as a mass proletarian party, combining iron discipline, a contralized organization, strong leaders and professional revolutionaries with the broadest participation of the proletarian masses, and the recruitment of more and more proletarians into its Bolshevik ranks.

Lenin trained up hundreds and thousands of active party builders, from among the illegal workers, who had fought shoulder to shoulder with him, learned from him how to build a party, learned how to lead it through difficulties and setbacks to victory.

It is just this force of old professional revolutionaries who, backed by the masses, are now continuing and completing the work begun by Lenin.

The Party, stricken by the death of its leader, began to study questions of party leadership with especial care and vigilance. The Party knew that in the ranks of its leadership there were those who had wavered and fallen away from Lenin in the most difficult days. The Party knew that in the ranks of the Perty leadership was to be found the Menshevik of yesterday, Trotsky. But the Party knew also that in the ranks of the Party was still to be found one of the direct disciples of Lenin, who during the whole period of his 22 years of Bolshevik activity had never left Lenin's side, had always carried on a consistent Leninist policy, and in the most difficult years, the years of reaction, had been one of the most forceful builders of the Party. This disciple of Lenin is Comrade Stalin.

Stalin belonged to that category of old professional revolutionaries which has worked from day to day to build up the Party, in circumstances of difficulties and defeat, firmly and unwaveringly moving towards the goal, fully convinced that the Party would conquer in the end.



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The role of Stalin as one of the best organizers and builders of our Party was already predetermined during the dawn of development of our Party, when the foundation stones were being laid, when the first Party circles were being organized.

* * * *

Treachery in policy always begins with revision of theory. The betrayal of social democracy began with the revision of the theory of Marx. Lenin, in a violent struggle against Menshevism and revisionism, defended the purity of Marxian theory. Revisionism and opportunism have the quality of reviving in new forms and in new species, even in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship.

* * * *

But greatest of all were the services rendered by Comrade Stalin in defending the theoretical principles of Leninism after Lenin's death, when the oldest adversary of Lenin—Trotsky—remaining true to Menshevism and fighting against Lenin even during his lifetime, revealed his true self and attacked the Party on basic questions of theory and politics. When the authority of Trotsky was still fairly high, when many still considered him above all criticism, Comrade Stalin was the first openly and decisively before the whole Party, to speak of the Menshevism of Trotsky, and called the Party to a decisive fight against Trotskyism, against his attempts to revise Lenin on fundamental questions: the nature of our revolution, the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry, the question of the construction of the Party. This struggle took on a particularly sharp form when Zinoviev and Kamenev, who prided themselves on being the closest disciples and co-workers of Lenin, tried to throw their own weight into the service of Trotsky, when they hypocritically and pharisically, under the cover of Leninism, went against the Party and its Central Committee, and made a bloc with Trotsky, who was moving over to the counter-revolution. In those days, iron will, constancy, and most of all, deep theoretical understanding of Leninism, and confidence of being in the right, were needed to struggle determinedly against and finally smash these attacks of the enemies of Leninism; and not only to do this, but to mobilize the masses of the people to fulfill the will of Lenin, to reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to build Socialism. Here the greatest service of Stalin was that he was able to give principal emphasis, as it deserved, to the question of the possibility of building Socialism in our country. Stalin defended this Leninist theory in the struggle against those petty-bourgeois, Menshevik opportunists

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and whiners who completely denied the possibility of building Socialism in our country, and hid their denial with Left phrases about the world revolution.

* * * *

In every new stage of our development, Comrade Stalin has brought forward first class organizational tasks. With the advent of new conditions, Comrade Stalin has more than once emphasized the new requirements demanded of the leadership. These tasks he has defined in the following way:

> "To sit at the helm and keep watch, seeing nothing until some calamity overtakes us—this is no kind of leadership. Bolshevism does not interpret leadership in this way. To lead means to foresee; and to foresee, comrades, is not always so simple. It is one thing when a dozen other leading comrades keep watch and notice defects in our work; but the working masses do not want to keep watch, or cannot do so; they therefore do not notice the defects. Then there is every chance that one may miss something, fail to see everything. It is quite another thing when, together with dozens of other leading comrades, there keep watch, hundreds of thousands and millions of workers; seeing the shortcomings in our work, bringing to light our mistakes, taking up the common cause of Socialist construction, and pointing out the way to improve the position."


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# Lenin, the Founder and Builder of the Soviet State

*By* MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

OF all the parties affiliated with the pre-war Socialist International the Bolshevik Party was the only one that brought forward the *dictatorship of the proletariat* as the goal toward which the labor movement must be directed. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, developed the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat in its true Marxian meaning and made it the guiding principle for the revolutionary proletarian struggle long before the Bolshevik Revolution. This attitude towards the proletarian dictatorship as towards a very practical and concrete objective, *viz.*, the organization of the proletarian forces crushing the state power of capitalism and serving as the "political supremacy" of the proletariat, presupposes a realization of the inevitability of the revolution and of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution.

Faith in the working class as the main force and leader of the coming revolution, and a clear understanding that the goal of the movement is *not* a bourgeois revolution but proletarian dictatorship as the state form of the transitional period between capitalist and Communist society, "the period of the revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter", are fundamental for Lenin. This faith in the working class was the outcome of a profound study of the social forces of modern society; at the same time, however, one must not forget that that peculiar ability to feel the currents of thought and strivings among the masses of the workers, that "closeness to the ground", to the depths of the toiling masses, that was the special genius of Lenin and that enabled him, even at a distance, even while abroad, to realize, unerringly, the revolutionary possibilities, were the living source that imbued his Marxian analysis with peculiar vitality. This enabled him to determine the role and map out the program of the Russian proletariat at a time when the revolutionary mass movement had hardly begun.

As early as 1894, almost a quarter of a century before the Bolshevik revolution, in analyzing the social forces of Russia in his book, *Who Are the Friends of the People*, in which he disproves



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the theory of the Narodniki (Populists) and points out the revolutionary role of the proletariat, Lenin says the following:

> "It is to the class of the workers that the Social-Democrats direct all their attention and all their activities. When its foremost representatives will have assimilated the idea of Scientific Socialism, the idea of the historic role of the Russian worker, when those ideas will have become widespread and there will be created among the workers stable organizations transforming the present sporadic economic war of the workers into conscious class struggle, then the Russian worker, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will throw down absolutism and lead the Russian proletariat, together with the proletariat of all the countires, on the direct road of open political struggle for the victorious Communist Revolution."

These words contain a whole program, the main points of which are the inevitability of the revolution, the hegemony of the proletariat, the Communist Revolution as the goal, and the cooperation of the proletariat with other democratic elements as the method of revolutionary struggle.

He who thus formulates the tasks of the Revolution and of the working class will differ sharply both from those who do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat altogether (the "revisionists" wing of the pre-war Socialist International), from those who are confused about the revolutionary state power of the proletariat and in essence opposed to it (the "orthodox-Marxist" wing of the International), and from those who, while paying lip-service to it, in reality are concerned with and believe in, not a proletarian dictatorship as the goal of the labor movement, but a bourgeois revolution against Czarism for the establishment of a bourgeois democracy. Nobody more than Lenin fought against all these distortions and corruptions of Marxism.

The Revolution of 1905 placed sharply on the order of the day the question of the task of the Revolution. The Mensheviks contended it was to be a purely bourgeois revolution. The most that could be expected of it, they said, would be a democratic republic. Lenin as the leader of the Bolshevik Party saw in a victory of the Revolution over Czarism a transitional step towards a proletarian dictatorship. A revolution that would be victorious over Czarism, he said, must not be allowed to hand over political power to the bourgeoisie to consolidate its rule:

> "The power that is capable to win a decisive victory can be only the *people*, *i.e.*, the proletariat and the peasantry, taking fundamental large forces. A decisive victory of the Revolu-

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> tion over Czarism is a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

Lenin explains why this cannot be otherwise.

> Such victory will be a dictatorship because it must inevitably base itself on military power, on armed masses, on an uprising, and not on some 'legal' institutions created 'in a peaceful way'. It can be only a dictatorship, because the realization of the changes immediately and urgently needed for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the resistance of the landlords, the large bourgeoisie and Czarism. Without a dictatorship, it is impossible to break this resistance, to repel counter-revolutionary attempts."

Lenin stresses that such a dictatorship would not yet be a Socialist one; it would not affect the foundations of capitalism. However, he says, it would be a gigantic victory guaranteeing the future development of Russia and of the whole world. "Nothing will enhance the revolutionary energy of the world proletariat, nothing will shorten its road that leads to its complete victory as this decisive victory of the Revolution begun in Russia".

With this attitude towards the proletariat and the Revolution Lenin could not fail to see in *the first Soviets* (1905) the embryo of the proletarian dictatorship. Analyzing the experiences of 1905, Lenin comes to the conclusion that the Soviets were *the organs of power of the proletariat and the peasantry*, albeit in a rudimentary form, and that the future Revolution would have to re-establish them in a more perfect form as organs of power.

> "A revolutionary power," he wrote in 1906, "not of intellectuals, not of a group of conspirators, but of workers and peasants, has already existed in Russia, it was already realized in practice in the course of our Revolution, it was crushed by the victory of the reaction but, if we really have ground to be convinced in the rise of the Revolution, we must inevitably also expect a rise, a development and a success of new organs of Revolutionary power, still more decisive, still more connected with the peasantry and the proletariat."

These more decisive organs of power more intimately connected with the workers and peasants came into being in the form of the Soviets organized spontaneously in the course of the March, 1917, Revolution. It was only consistent with Lenin's conceptions developed during a quarter century of revolutionary activity and tested by the experiences of two revolutions that he should have advanced the slogan, "All Power To The Soviets". And it was no accident that at the very time the revolutionary tide was rising, two months before the October Revolution, Lenin, hiding in the outskirts of Petrograd, wrote his famous study, *State and Revolution*, which

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brushed aside all the social-reformist rubbish about the nature of the State and solved, concretely and practically, the question of the relation of a proletarian Socialist Revolution to the State in a true Marxian light. No work of keener penetration, of a bolder posing of the problems of State power and no more convincing statement of the tasks of the Social Revolution in regard to instruments of power had ever been written since the days of Marx and Engels. That famous thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* that "strictly speaking, political power is the organized use of force by one class in order to keep another class in subjection" and the later declaration in *Civil War in France* that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes" is made by Lenin the basis of a thorough analysis in the light of the experiences of the Paris Commune and of the development of capitalist dictatorships the world over in the form of bourgeois democracies in the last half century. It can be stated with full assurance that no other piece of writing helped build up the ideological foundation for the Soviet power later established in Russia more than *State and Revolution.*

What are the Soviets? Even before the November uprising, in his tract, *Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power,* Lenin defined it in the following way:

> "The Soviets are the new State apparatus, which, in the first place, represents the armed force of the workers and peasants, a force that is not divorced from the people. . . . In a military sense, this force is incomparably more mighty than the former (the old standing army); in relation to the Revolution it is second to none. Secondly, this apparatus represents a connection with the masses, with the majority of the people, that is so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily verifiable and renewable, that nothing like it was even approached in the former State. Thirdly, this apparatus, because it is elective and its personnel is subject to recall in accordance with the will of the people without any bureaucratic formality, is far more democratic than were the former ones. Fourthly, it represents a firm connection with the most diverse occupations, thus facilitating all sorts of the most radical reforms without any bureaucracy. Fifthly, it represents a form of organization of the vanguard, *i.e.*, of the most class-conscious, most energetic, most progressive section of the *oppressed classes*, of the workers and peasants, and is thus an apparatus whereby the vanguard of the oppressed classes can elevate, educate and lead in its train *the whole gigantic mass* of these classes which until now have stood absolutely outside all political life, outside history. Sixthly, it makes it possible to combine the advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy, *i.e.*, to unite in the persons of elected representatives of the people both legislative and *executive* functions. Compared with bourgeois parliamentarism, this is a step forward in the development of democracy which has an historical world significance."

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When the October Revolution put power in the hands of the Soviets, it was Lenin as head of the Communist Party and of the Soviet State who led in the work of consolidating the State power, strengthening its social foundation and perfecting its apparatus. It was a herculean task. It could be accomplished only by the cooperation of the Communist Party with the broadest strata of the hitherto exploited population now for the first time making their own history as a ruling class. "We are convinced", said Lenin at the Third All Russian Congress of the Soviets (January 11, 1918), "that with every new step of the Soviet power, more and more people will distinguish themselves who are freed completely from the old bourgeois prejudice that a plain worker or a peasant cannot manage the affairs of State".

Do not be afraid that the masses would not be able to cope with the problem of organizing a new system, says Lenin in his tract, *The Current Tasks of the Soviet Power*, published April 29, 1918. "There is a large amount of organizational talent in the 'people' *i.e.* among the workers and peasants who do not exploit labor; capital crushed them, destroyed them, cast them out by the thousand, we have not yet been able to find them, to encourage them, to put them on their feet, to move them ahead. But we will learn to do that if we start to do so with all revolutionary enthusiasm without which victorious revolutions do not take place." Let the bourgeoisie and the social-reformists scoff, says Lenin. They are tiny lap-dogs who cannot help but bark at the proletarian elephant. "We shall go our own way trying most cautiously and patiently to test and find out the real organizers, the men and women with a sober mind and practical sense, the men and women who combine devotion to Socialism with the ability to organize without noise (and despite the turmoil and the noise) solid and united common work of a large number of people within the frame-work of the Soviet organization. *Only* such people, after ten-fold testing, must be advanced, moving from the most simple to the most difficult tasks, to the responsible posts of leaders of the people's labor, of leaders of the affairs of State. We haven't learned this yet. We shall learn."

It is necessary that every cook should know how to manage the affairs of State, said Lenin later. It was the cooks and metal workers, the soldiers and sailors, the toilers of the land and the toilers of the factories and plants that made the existence of the Soviet power possible.

The great organizer and leader of those multitudes emerging from the depths to mold their own life was Lenin.

*Food* was the primary question right after the seizure of power. The workers, the armed forces of the Revolution (Red Guards

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first, the Red Army later) had to be secured a minimum of supplies. There was plenty of food in the country, but it was in the hands of the village bourgeoisie and city speculators. Lenin appeals to the toiling masses to take hold of those foodstuffs—in an organized revolutionary manner. In a speech to a corps of propagandists sent out into the provinces to secure grain collections he says (January 24, 1918): "The bourgeoisie, having hidden away the loot in its coffers, thinks self-assuredly, 'let's sit tight'. The people must drag out those 'grabbers' from their hiding places and force them to give up their loot. You must carry this out locally. You must not allow them to hide in order that we may not be ruined by total collapse." It is in this speech that Lenin quoted an old Bolshevik explaining to a young Cossack the difference between the Czarist government and the government of the Soviets: "Asked by the Cossack, 'Is it true that you Bolsheviks are looting?' the old man replied; 'yes, we are looting the looters' ".

This question of "looting the looters" as a prerequisite for the securing of the new proletarian State, this "war for supplies", presupposed on the one hand a ruthless attack on the property of the bourgeoisie, a reign of red terror, and on the other hand a rapid organization of the masses to secure a greater production and a better distribution of supplies. Speaking before the All Russian Congress of the navy (December 5, 1917, a few days after the seizure of power) Lenin said:

> "It is our task to build a new State, a Socialist State. In this direction we shall work relentlessly, and no obstacles will frighten or stop us . . . All power was hitherto in the hands of the monarchs and appointees of the bourgeoisie. All their efforts, all their policies were directed towards coercing the masses of the people. We on the other hand say we need firm power, we need force and violence, but we shall direct them against a handful of capitalists, against the class of the bourgeoisie."

Learning to work, learning to manage the affairs of State, learning to manage industries was the other prerequisite for securing the proletarian power. Lenin, himself setting the example of indefatigable work, became the organizer of scores of millions. Accounting and control! These safeguards were stressed by Lenin even before November. After the Revolution began the expropriation of the expropriators, these safeguards became a question of life and death. "The organization of the most rigid accounting and control of all the people over the production and distribution of products is decisive", he declared in his tract *The Current Tasks of the Soviet Power* (April 29, 1918). "It must be said, however, that in those enterprises, in those branches and sections of economy which we

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wrested from the bourgeoisie, control and accounting have *not yet* been accomplished by us, and without this there can be no question about the introduction of the second no less substantial material prerequisite of Socialism, namely the raising on a national scale of the productivity of labor".

This latter prerequisite was insolubly connected with the question of lifting Russia out of its industrial backwardness. From the very first weeks of the Revolution the question of industrial progress was paramount in the activities of Lenin. He stresses the fact that while Russia was left by the former regime a backward country, and while the Brest-Litovsk treaty deprived Russia of some of its vitally needed territories, it still possessed gigantic deposits of ore, coal, oil, peat, a gigantic wealth of timber, water-power, of materials for the chemical industry, etc. "The development of these natural riches by the methods of modern technique," he says, "will lay the foundation for an unheard of progress of productive forces". In order to hasten this process he undertakes measures to raise the educational and cultural level of the masses. He stresses the importance of discipline. He appeals to the masses to dare undertake. "We can conquer the enemy positions," he says, "only by learning to govern in actual experience, by learning from our errors". He stresses the necessity and possibility of Socialist competition. "Only Socialism, by abolishing classes and consequently the enslavement of the masses, opens for the first time the road for competition on a truly mass scale. And it is the Soviet organization, by passing from the formal democracy of the bourgeois republic to the real participation of the toiling masses in *administration*, organizes competition on a broad scale for the first time." At the same time Lenin insists on the necessity of utilizing bourgeois specialists left over from the old regime. He bitterly fights the "leftists" who contend that it is not proper to pay the bourgeois specialists more than the skilled workers. Lenin is not afraid to call this expedient "a step backward", a "compromise", but he explains that this is necessary for the development of Socialist industry. "The lackeys of the bourgeoisie, particularly the small fry among them, like the Mensheviks, the Novayi-Zhizn'ites, the right Socialist Revolutionists will giggle over the admittance that we are making a step backward. But we must not pay attention to the giggling. We must study the peculiarities of the extremely difficult and novel road to Socialism, never covering up our errors and weaknesses, but striving to make good in time what was left undone. To hide from the masses that attracting bourgeois specialists by extremely high wages is a deviation from the principles of the Commune would mean to lower ourselves to the level of bourgeois politicians and to deceive the masses. To explain openly how

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and why we are making this step, then to discuss publicly by what methods we must regain what we have lost means to educate the masses and to learn, together with them, from our experiences how to build Socialism."

Already in April, 1918, Lenin declares *individual responsibility* as a cornerstone for the management of industry. "Every large-scale machine industry, *i.e.*, precisely the material production source and foundation of Socialism, demands the unconditional and most decisive unity of will directing the combined work of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands of people." This, on the other hand, demands, on the basis of proletarian democratism "absolute submission to the one will of the leaders of the work process". "We have decreed, legalized, discussed, mapped out many things," says Lenin; "now it is necessary to consolidate what we have won in battle, to consolidate it in the firm shape of every-day labor discipline". This discipline is to be accomplished by "control from below" which Lenin strove to develop from the very first days of the Revolution.

The Soviet power could not be secured without *a united front with the peasantry*. The cooperation of the peasantry with the proletariat was accomplished by the Decree on Land, the second after the decree on peace issued by the Soviet power on Novmber 8, 1917, and written, like most of the decrees of that time, by Lenin himself. "We have never doubted," said Lenin in his report to the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, "that only a union of the workers and the poorest peasants, the semi-proletarians, of whom our party program speaks, can embrace in Russia the majority of the population and secure a firm support for the (State) power. And we have succeeded after November 7 in the course of a few weeks to overcome all difficulties and to found the (State) power on the foundation of such a firm union." The Socialist-Revolutionaries claimed that the decree on land was appropriating their own program. To which Lenin correctly replied that this was the program advocated by 242 local peasant Soviets and it was therefore the program of the people themselves. It was not important, he said, whether one or the other party formulated the demand; it was important that it came from the very depths of the toiling peasant masses. It must not be forgotten, however, that as early as 1905-1906 Lenin fought for the program of nationalization of the land.

The union of the workers with the peasants, said Lenin in a leaflet published December 1, 1918, is "an honest coalition" because there is no fundamental divergence of interests between the workers and the toiling and exploited peasants and because only Socialism can satisfy the interests of both. This "honest coalition" presupposed

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a relentless struggle against the village bourgeoisie, against the kulaks. "A struggle is flaring up between the rich and the toiling peasantry," said Lenin in his above-mentioned speech to the propagandists, "and we must help the poor not with a book, but with experience, with our own struggle. We have taken away the land from the landlords, not in order that it may fall into the hands of the rich and the kulaks, but that it may pass into the hands of the poor. This will elicit sympathies and a warm sentiment towards us on the part of the poor peasants."

With that keen eye for the interests of the peasants that characterized Lenin, he never forgot that there were two sides to the revolutionary coalition. Much later, in 1923, at the Twelfth Congress of the C. P., U.S.S.R., he said:

> "The peasant is giving us credit and, after what has happened, he cannot fail to do so . . . But this credit cannot be inexhaustable. We must know this and, while receiving credits, we must hurry. We must know that a moment is near when the peasant country won't give us any more credit, when, speaking commercially, it will demand cash."

These "cash" payments are now abundantly made by the successes of collectivization of agriculture.

The existence of the State power presupposed the existence of an armed force. But the old army left over from the Kerensky regime could not be the army of the new proletarian state. The old army, in its overwhelming majority, had to be demobilized. "The sooner we demobilize it, the sooner it will be absorbed by the other not so diseased parts, the sooner will the country be ready for new great trials," said Lenin in his report on the Brest-Litovsk Treaty before the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party on March 7, 1918. A Red Army had to be built as the new armed force of the new proletarian State, "a really firm and ideologically sound Socialist army" (Theses, January 7, 1918). Such an army, said Lenin later (Third Soviet Congress) would be invincible. "For it is for the first time in the history of world struggle that elements are entering into the army who carry with them not official ranks but are guided by the ideas of struggle for the liberation of the exploited. And when the work begun by us will have been completed, the Russian Soviet Republic will be invincible."

The army, the Red Guards, the organization of the People's Courts, the perfection of the local Soviets, the organization of workers' control over the factories and plants, the organization of the labor unions, the organization of the State Bank, the building up of cultural institutions, the organization of the press, the organization of the statistical service, the improvement of the transportation

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system, the organization of the Cheka—all this and a multitude of other tasks occupied Lenin from the very first days of the organization of the new power.

To consolidate the unity of all the national divisions of the Soviet Union it was necessary to secure *full equality for national minorities*. This was accomplished by the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia" (November 15, 1917) which introduced "equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, . . . including separation and formation of an independent State" and "the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia, . . ." a program advocated by Lenin long before 1917. In order to secure for the Revolution a breathing space in which to organize to defend itself, Lenin carried through the Brest-Litovsk "peace" against a strong opposition within the Communist Party itself and against the sabotage of Trotsky. With what fury he lashed the "revolutionists" who demanded war with Germany at the time when war meant defeat! How he hit at those who used the revolutionary phrase in a situation where it could, and did, only harm! How he scoffed at the notion that by making peace wtih Germany the Soviet Republic was aiding one group of imperialists against the other. "At the basis of our tactics at present must lie not the principle as to whom of the two imperialists it is more advantageous to aid at present, but the principle as to how more surely it is possible to secure for the Socialist revolution the possibility of strengthening itself and keeping up at least in one country until other countries have joined." How he castigated the idea of *writing* about a "revolutionary war" at a time when to try a war would have meant nothing but adventurism.

He branded as "strange and monstrous" the resolution of the "left", saying that once the Soviet Republic is not fighting against Germany "the Soviet power becomes *a purely formal matter*". Those elements who still cling to the idea that building Socialism in one country and concluding peace treaties with imperialist powers reduces the U.S.S.R. to a purely formal position as a revolutionary factor, only continue the work of those who, at the very beginning of the Soviet system, venomously attacked Lenin. History has put to naught their contention. The victorious world proletariat, led, under the banner of Leninism, by the Communist International, will brush aside the present-day "lapdogs of the bourgeoisie" barking at the giant of the World Revolution.

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# Lenin's Conception of the Party

*By* F. BROWN

TO fulfill its historic task as the driving force in the revolutionary struggle, the proletariat must develop its own organization which will embrace the most advanced and conscious strata of the working class and put itself at the head of the toiling masses against their oppressors. This organization takes the form of an organized, revolutionary political Party.

It is only on this basis that the proletariat can be victorious, in so far as it is only such a Party that is able to see further ahead than the rest of the workers, that sees where capitalism is leading, that is able to analyze the political situation, to understand the interest of the working class and guide it in its daily struggles along the revolutionary path for the overthrow of capitalism.

Lenin writes:

> "The proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power except organization. . . . In order that the mass of people belonging to a certain class might learn to understand their interest, their position, to pursue their policy, it is necessary immediately and at all costs to organize the advanced element of the class, even should this element originally constitute an insignificant fraction of the class. . . . Our Party is a union of the class conscious advanced fighters for the emancipation of the working class. . . . The Party is the class conscious, advanced section of the class, its vanguard. The power of this vanguard is ten, hundred and more times, as great as its number."

Lenin, of course, does not stop here, but adds that without revolutionary theory there cannot be a revolutionary movement. It is only the Party, guided by revolutionary theory, that can solve the task of the vanguard fighters. Here we see Lenin as the creator of the theory of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

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The parties of the Second and "Second-and-a-Half" International have maintained that they are defending the proletariat. They write on their banners the slogans of the defense of the working class, and claim to be leaders of the working class. But in reality, when faced with the test in the decisive moment of struggle, they disband and subjectively or objectively go over openly to the side of the bourgeoisie.



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Did not the Mensheviks pass over to the side of the counter-revolution? Were not the English Laborites, when in power, the managers of the capitalist State, of the British Empire? Did not the Italian Socialists (the Maximalists), confused on the problem of the Italian revolution, on the necessity of cleansing the party of reformism, on the problem of the violent seizure of power, capitulate and bring about the defeat of the Italian proletariat? Did not the German Social-Democratic Party, after paving the way to fascism on the basis of the theory of the "lesser evil," collapse when Hitler took power, rejecting the united front, knifing the general strike? And the Socialist Party in the United States, is it not directly helping the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. in chaining the American working class to the NRA? Are not its leaders giving advice to the Roosevelt administration?

And what is the Second International doing? What are the various "independent" Socialist Parties doing—the various groups and grouplets, at a moment in which the capitalist terror is reaching its highest point, when a new world slaughter is approaching, when the imperialist powers are frantically looking for a united front to attack the Soviet Union? While the Second International still supports the League of Nations and the "peace" conferences, it is the standard-bearer of the arbitration policies, confusing the workers and helping capitalism, its only real struggle being directed against the Communist Party, the only Party of the working class. The other groups outside of the Second International (I.L.P., Maximalists, Musteites, etc.) with their policy of hindering the trend toward the unity of their members, the trend towards the Third International, with their opposition and continuous attacks against the Communist International, are marching at the tail of the Second International and through their left phraseology are splitting the ranks of the working class.

The parties of the Second International and other so-called "Workers' Parties" (Catholics, Farmer Labor, etc.), notwithstanding the fact that part of their membership belongs to the working class, are in reality, because of their policies (collaborationism, arbitration councils, etc.), supporting factors of the capitalist order and are simply reduced to fractions of the bourgeois party. If this does not appear clearly on the surface because of the apparent division, it manifests itself especially at the moment when the bourgeoisie as a bloc defends its own existence. A typical example is given by fascism. In all countries where fascism rules we see all the fractions of the bourgeoisie united in the party of the bourgeois dictatorship, in fascism. Many of the petty-bourgeois elements who once were lead-

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ers in various "workers' parties" are today in the ranks of fascism, are the standard bearers of class collaboration, the translation of which is bourgeois dictatorship.

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The Communist Party is the only real vanguard of the working class, the only party of the proletariat leading towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the only instrument of the proletarian revolution insuring the transition to socialism. It makes possible the only form of proletarian democracy, insofar as only the dictatorship of the proletariat can represent and give true liberty to the large toiling masses constituting the overwhelming majority of the population.

Of course, it is not the Communist Party that makes the revolution, that takes power; but it is the working class backed by the broad masses of those who labor and are oppressed or exploited by capitalism. The Party acts as its leader and general staff. The working class without the revolutionary Party is an army without a general staff.

The strength of the Party consists in its clear class policies, in its strong ties with the masses, in its inner unity, in its discipline, in its struggle against opportunist deviations.

At this point it is necessary to emphasize the important role played by the leaders. While the Party is the vanguard of the working class, the leaders are the most advanced elements of this vanguard, the most devoted, developed and experienced in the course of the struggle, those that have been tested by the masses in the course of many years. The bourgeoisie understands very well that the role of the leaders is an essential element in the development of the revolutionary movement, and for this reason, strives systematically to deprive the working class of its leaders. Lenin's conception was that the Party must have an apparatus of professional revolutionists "who devote themselves entirely to the revolution, who are free from other non-revolutionary duties, who may at any time freely migrate from place to place, change their mode of life, and even the name they go by, in a word, of people who have chosen the revolution as their only profession." He continuously fought against any deviation from this line. Especially in 1920 did he fight against the group of Left-wing Communists in Germany who sharply opposed the necessity for leaders of the revolutionary labor movement, basing themselves on the theory that the entire power rests in the masses.

Because the Bolshevik Party possessed such qualities it was able to lead the Russian proletariat to victory. The Russian proletariat

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was able to defeat the bourgeoisie, first, because during the previous years of struggle under the guidance of Lenin, it succeeded in forging a vanguard of steel which was able to work out a clear and perfect program, and secondly, because the great masses learned to consider the Bolshevik Party as their only general staff.

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The Party, to be the vanguard of the proletariat, must also be the organized detachment of its class. Only if well organized and disciplined, will the Party be able to accomplish its tasks, especially during difficult periods.

Comrade Stalin writes:

> "The distinction between the vanguard and the main body of the working class, between Party members and non-Party members, will continue as long as classes exist, as long as the proletariat will continue replenishing its ranks with new comers from other classes, as long as the working class as a whole is deprived of the opportunity of raising itself to the level of the vanguard. But the Party would cease to be a Party if this distinction were widened into a rupture; if it were to isolate itself and break away from the non-Party masses. The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, tf there is no close union between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the Party does not enjoy moral and political authority among the masses."

As early as 1902, in *What Is To Be Done*, Lenin laid down the main conception of the type of party needed by the working class. An organization that shall

> "... secure a flexibility necessary for a social-democratic militant organization, *i.e.*, an ability quickly to readjust itself to the most diverse and rapidly changing conditions of struggle, an ability to evade a battle in the open field against an overwhelming enemy that has gathered all of its forces at one point, on the one hand, and, on the other, to take advantage of the clumsiness of this enemy and attack him when and where he is least prepared for such an attack."

In 1915, enriched by the experiences of more than a decade of struggle, and especially by the experiences of the 1905 revolution, of the years following the revolution of 1914, Lenin characterized still more eloquently the type of Party that must perform the role of the vanguard of the working class, of a Party able to adapt its structure, its technique, its apparatus, to the condition of the struggle.

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> "Let us take," Lenin said, "a modern army, here is a good example of organization. This organization is good simply because it is flexible, because it knows how to impart a single will to millions of people. Today, these millions sit in their various homes at the different ends of the country. Tomorrow, a mobilization order is issued and they gather at appointed places. Today, they lie in trenches, sometimes for months at a stretch. Tomorrow, in a rearranged order, they march forward to storm the enemy. Today, they perform miracles in evading bullets and shrapnel. Tomorrow, they perform miracles in open battles. Today, their advance posts lay mines under the ground; tomorrow, they cover dozens of miles in accordance with instructions from flyers in the air. That is what you call organization, when *in the name of one object inspired by a single will, millions of people change the form of their intercourse and action, the place and methods of their activity, their weapons and arms, in accordance with the changing circumstances and demands of the struggle.*" (Emphasis mine—F.B.)

It was such a type of organization that withstood all waves of reaction and of terror and led the toiling masses of Russia to victory. It is such a Party that, following Lenin's teachings, withstands the terrific waves of fascist terror in Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary; that gives the iron vanguard in the Chinese Soviet territory the power to withstand all the offensives of the reactionary Kuomintang; that today, in spite of the most bloody terror, and the loss of thousands upon thousands of its best fighters, gives the Communist Party of Germany the cement to keep its ranks together, to strengthen itself, to tie itself more and more closely to the toiling masses in the places of work, and to lead the daily struggles of the oppressed masses; while the so-called labor parties, the Socialist Parties, disintegrate and collapse at the first wave of reaction.

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It was on the basis of this type of party and the concrete experiences between 1902 and 1905 that Lenin, at the Third Congress in London, and at the Fourth United Congress in Stockholm (1905-1906), laid down the five fundamental organizational principles which are in full force in the World Communist Party. The first defines the activity of Party members as direct participants in the Party work; the second is the principle of Communist discipline, combined with the free discussion of problems inherent in the Party and the condition of submission of the minority to the majority; the third *establishes centralism, combined with democratism, with the elective principle;* the fourth defines the foundation of the Party, its citadel in the factory, the lower nuclei of the Party; the fifth

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sets forth the Party tasks in all working class organizations—trade unions, cooperatives, etc., through the Communist fractions.

The first principle was expressed in the following terms:

> "Anyone who accepts its program and supports the Party both by material means as well as by personal participation in one of its organizations is considered a member of the Party."

This principle was made more definite in 1906, and later, in 1917 at the Sixth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, it was formulated as follows:

> "Anyone is considered a member of the Party who accepts its program, who is an active member in one of its organizations, who executes all decisions, and pays his membership dues."

This fundamental principle contrasts with the opportunist stand of the Mensheviks and of Trotsky, who were fighting for a system that would have opened the doors wide to professionals and students, to anybody who would accept simply the program in principle, but was not willing to belong to and be active in a Party organization.

It is clear that in following the principles of Martov and Trotsky, the Party would have absorbed the most heterogeneous elements and would have ended where the German Social-Democracy did.

The Menshevik ideal is to make of the Party a loose organization in which all currents have equal rights. In Social Democracy we can find tens of tendencies, tens of schools of "Marxist" interpretation, of revisionism of Marxism. The organizational principle laid down by Lenin is of the utmost political importance. It flows out of the program of the Communist Party.

The Leninist Party cannot permit the rotten liberalism advocated by the Social Democrats. Our Party is not a club for perpetual discussion. It is for this reason that the organizational problem is put by the Communist Party as a question of principle that makes the Party the instrument of working class hegemony in the revolutionary struggle.

In order that the Party be able to develop its activity as the vanguard of the working class, it is necessary that every member give his maximum of activity, not only to the organizational work of the Party, but especially to the penetration of the Party into the masses, to the establishment of the Party in the factories. Our work must be concrete work, persistent work, the work of everyday activity. We must separate those who are active in the daily work from those who merely talk. We must destroy the petty individual-

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ism in our ranks, the petty-bourgeois opportunism; we must learn to work collectively for the program of the Party.

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The principle determining the duties of the Party members, their activity and their obedience to decisions, is closely linked with the second principle of democratic centralism and discipline. What is democratic centralism?

> "Democratic centralism is based, on the one hand, on the system of subordinating the lower organs to the higher, leading up to the Central Committee of the Party, to whom all the lower organizations, as a whole, are subordinated; on the other hand, this centralism is democratic, in so far as all the organs of the Party, from the top to the bottom, are elective and all the local organizations are autonomous on local questions, *i.e.*, they are enabled to develop the maximum of self-activity within the limits of the general directives given by the higher organs of the Party."—Kaganovitch, *Organization Structure of the Russian Communist Party.*

Democratic centralism is also the guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party which secures real unity of the Party, led by the center from the bottom up. The lowest organization of the Party directly connected with the masses in their daily work is the nucleus composed of the Communists in a given factory, mill, village, neighborhood. The nuclei elect their buros, which can be reelected at any time. Groups of nuclei constitute a section which elects, at its convention, the section committee. Several sections comprise a district which elects the district committee. The general Party convention elects the central committee. Each Party body is responsible for its activity to the entire organization and to the higher Party body. This form of democracy of electing the higher body of the Party is, however, "not something absolute that holds good for all times and conditions, because there are moments when it is neither possible nor expedient to apply it." (Stalin.) It is obvious that at a time when the Party is underground, when the Party organization must be protected from the blows of terror, democracy must be restricted, and centralism strengthened.

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The constant duty of the vanguard is to raise the level of the vast strata of workers higher and higher, until they reach the level of the vanguard. To reach such an objective, it is necessary, not only to raise to consciousness of the individual members of the Party through continuous education combined with everyday work, but to have the most rigid discipline, which is not coercive, but consciously developed on the basis of the ideological unity and organizational structure of the Party.

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"We must always keep in mind that an army of 600,000 men [the members of the C.P. of Russia in 1922] must be the vanguard of the working class, and that without an iron discipline it would not have been possible to accomplish our task." (Lenin.)

As early as 1920 Lenin wrote on the same subject:

"The experiences of the victorious Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia clearly showed to those who are unable to think and who do not have to think about this question, that absolute centralization and the strictest discipline among the proletariat are one of the fundamental conditions of its victory over the bourgeoisie."

When the Mensheviks, in bringing forward their liberalism, attacked Lenin on this point, maintaining that a military regime cannot be the regime of a proletarian party, and that the factory cannot serve as the type for the party, Lenin answered that precisely the factory represents the superior form of capitalist cooperation, which has united and disciplined the proletariat, taught it organization, and put it at the head of all the other sections of the exploited toiling masses.

"Discipline and organization, so indigestible to the bourgeois intellectuals, are particularly easily assimilated by the proletariat by the very fact of factory schooling."

Discipline is the first condition of unity of the Party; not formal unity, but concrete unity based on ideological unity, on Bolshevik will and action. To the questions: How is discipline maintained within the revolutionary Party of the proletariat? What controls this discipline and what strengthens it?—Lenin answers:

"First of all, there is the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, its devotion to the revolution, its self-control, its self-sacrifice, its heroism. Secondly, there is the capacity of the proletarian vanguard for linking itself with, for keeping in close touch with, for to some extent amalgamating with, the broad masses of those who labor, primarily with the proletarian masses, but also with the non-proletarianized masses of those who labor. Thirdly, we have the soundness of the vanguard's political leadership, the soundness of its political strategy and tactic, with the provision that the broad masses must become convinced by their own experience that the leadership, the strategy and the tactic are sound. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, there is no possibility of achieving the discipline which is indispensable for a revolutionary party that shall be able to become the party of the most advanced class, the party whose task it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to transform the whole of society. . . . On the other hand, these

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> conditions cannot be fulfilled betwixt night and morning. Much labor and pains, hard-won experience, will be required. Their fulfillment must be guided by accurate revolutionary theory, which, however, must never harden into dogma, but must always be formulated in close touch with the practical activity of the masses and the daily work of the revolutionary movement."

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Discussion, which is a necessary means of working out and clarifying the line, and making decisions, is necessary to raise the Communist consciousness of Party members. It is the medium for the expression of opinion on the greatest possible number of questions, with the intent of raising the ability of the Party organizations, and the individual members, and of tying them closer and closer to the toiling masses. Such discussion raises, not only the activities, but the political level of Party members. The Party encourages discussion on questions where there are different points of view; far from prohibiting sound criticism of the leading organizations of the Party it bases itself on the position that discussions insure the correctness of the policies of the Party, that they insure the Party against errors.

For this reason the most fundamental questions are submitted to the entire membership; other urgent questions, which cannot be submitted for general discussion, are decided upon by the leading organs, especially by the Central Committee. Criticism of the mistakes of the Party policy by the organizations and by individual members is necessary; but it must be constructive criticism, aiming at overcoming the errors or weaknesses. Criticism cannot, however, be allowed to degenerate into license that violates the discipline or breaks the unity of the Party. In our Party, decisions must be observed and carried out even when individuals or groups do not fully agree with them.

> "He who causes the least relaxation of the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (particularly at the time of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat), is in fact helping the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (Lenin.)

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This warning of Lenin's in his *Infantile Sickness of Left Communism* must be kept in mind by every Communist. In capitalist countries especially, our Party must be on guard against the pene-

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tration of petty bourgeois influence, against which, in particular, Lenin warned.

Today, in a period in which the crisis of capitalism is deepening, the class struggle sharpening, a new world slaughter approaching, the Communist Party must be an iron Party more than ever before.

On the tenth anniversary of the death of Lenin, the leader of the World Party of the Proletariat, we should be spurred on by his fundamental lesson:

> "Without an iron Party, hardened in the struggle, without a Party enjoying the confidence of all the honest elements of the class, without a Party capable of keeping in touch with the sentiment of the masses and influencing them, it is impossible successfully to conduct such a struggle."

In the light of this teaching we must build our Party into a mass proletarian Party, rooted in the factories, rooted among the toiling masses, to steel it in the daily struggle, to equip it for the approaching struggles in this period of new wars and revolutions, of the maturing world revolutionary crisis.

It is only by following the teachings of Lenin that we will be able to accomplish our revolutionary tasks.

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# Lenin's Teachings on the Farmers as the Ally of the Proletariat

*By* H. PURO

COMRADE Lenin, who led the first successful proletarian revolution, left to us revolutionary Marxian theory and practice enriched. For he was not only a follower of his great predecessors, Marx and Engels, but developed their doctrines further. Lenin contributed "something new" to the general treasure of Marxism, as Comrade Stalin says.

One of his great contributions is a clear definition of the meaning and the form of the proletarian dictatorship and the establishment of the proper relation of the peasant question to the proletarian dictatorship. Marx and Engels created the fundamental idea of the proletarian dictatorship as the political domination of the proletariat and as a method of overthrowing capitalism. They also emphasized the necessity for the proletariat to win over the exploited peasants. Lenin developed these ideas further by formulating the question of proletarian dictatorship as a "*peculiar form of class alliance*" between the proletariat, which is the leader, and the exploited non-proletarian masses (peasantry, etc.) who are led by the proletariat. He developed a new form of State, the Soviet form, as the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which the proletariat has the hegemony, and is supported by the small peasants. Drawing the proper lessons from the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution, Lenin showed the necessity of cementing the definite alliance between the revolutionary workers and the exploited peasantry for the successful maintenance of power in the hands of the proletariat through the proletarian dictatorship for the complete extermination of the rule of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the classless society.

Lenin was not an abstract theorist. He knew how to connect Marxian theory with practice. Under his leadership and the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the alliance between the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry was cemented in the long struggle against Czarism and in the final overthrow of the Czarist rule through the bourgeois revolution in which the revolutionary proletariat, supported by the peasantry, played a leading part. The bourgeois revolution in Russia was carried to its final conclusion through the proletarian revolution, by the seizure of power at the hands of the proletariat and by the establishment of the Soviet Government,



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which was supported directly by the poor peasantry and indirectly by the majority of the middle peasantry, whose direct support was afterward won, through the land reform, which was put into effect immediately after the seizure of power.

Owing to the special conditions of Russia, where the Czarist autocracy ruled, it was possible to rally the support of the great majority of all peasants against Czarism and landlords for the bourgeois revolution. Clearly understanding this, Lenin therefore correctly formulated the slogan of the Bolshevik Party: "Together with *all* the peasantry against the monarchy, against the landlords, against medievalism". This slogan successfully rallied the great majority of the peasants for the support of the bourgeois democratic revolution. In the preparations for the October revolution, the Bolshevik Party issued a different slogan: Together with the *poor peasantry* against the bourgeoisie. However, as Comrade Stalin explains, the fact that the completion of the bourgeois revolution dragged on the whole period after October, and since this meant completion of the bourgeois revolution, the "whole" peasantry could not but sympathize with the revolution, which, however, does not alter the fact that the October revolution triumphed with the direct support of the poor peasantry, against the resistance of the kulaks and in the face of vacillations of the middle peasantry.

Soon after the completion of the bourgeois revolution the class division within the peasantry matured. At this period, March 1919, Lenin announced at the Eighth Party Congress the third strategic slogan: *With the support of the poor peasants* and by establishing the *stable alliance with the middle peasantry*, to march forward towards the establishment of Socialism.

This strategical line towards the peasantry Lenin put forward as early as 1905 in his pamphlet *Two Tactics*, outlining two natural stages of the Russian revolution:

> "The proletariat must push the democratic revolution through to an end, inducing the mass of the peasantry to join forces with the workers, in order to break the power of the autocracy and to overcome the vacillations of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must push the socialist revolution through to an end, inducing the mass of the semi-proletarian elements to join forces with the proletariat, in order to break the power of the bourgeoisie and to overcome the vacillations of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie."

Quoting above from Lenin, Comrade Stalin sarcastically remarks that certain comrades appear to believe that Lenin did not happen upon this idea until 1916. They think that before that year

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he supposed that in Russia the revolution would only be a bourgeois revolution; that power would pass to the bourgeoisie and not to the proletariat.

In preparing the Russian proletariat to play the leading part, first, in the bourgeois-democratic revolution against Czarism, and later, to transform the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution, the Bolshevik Party was guided by this Leninist line in regard to the peasant question. This line of policy was hammered out in practice, coupled up with a whole series of sharp struggles, external and internal. A struggle was waged to expose the bourgeois liberals (cadets) as the vacillating elements who were ready to make peace with Czarism and who were the enemies of the peasants. It was necessary to struggle against the Social Revolutionists, who, while they were of the Peasant Party, had no proletarian basis in the cities, were hesitating in the struggle against Czarism, and, especially after the overthrow of the Czarist government, made peace with the bourgeoisie. A struggle was imperative against the Menshevists, who either ignored the peasants or wanted to utilize them to support the bourgeoisie after the bourgeois revolution.

These struggles for winning away the laboring masses of the peasantry from the support of the bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois parties had sharp repercussions also within the Bolshevik Party. Therefore the Leninist policy on the peasant question had to be hammered out through the long drawn-out inner struggles of the Party, (1) against Trotskyism, which stubbornly insisted on its idea of the "permanent revolution" and maintained that "it is impossible to build socialism in one country"; (2) against the right wing distortions of the Leninist line, abandonment of the struggle against the kulaks (Bukharin, etc.).

The sharp conflict between Lenin's policy and that of Trotsky appeared as early as 1905, when Trotsky put forward the slogan: "A workers' government", instead of Lenin's slogan: "A Workers' and Peasants' Government."

In criticizing sharply Trotsky's stand on the peasant question, Lenin, in 1905, accused him of denying the role of the peasantry. Lenin said:

> "In actual fact, Trotsky is playing into the hands of the liberal-labor politicians who, seeing that he 'denies' the role of the peasantry, imagine that we do not want to muster the peasants for the revolution."

The difference between the Leninist theory of the peasant question and that of Trotsky is the fundamental difference on the question of the role of the proletarian dictatorship itself. Comrade

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Stalin, who, especially since Lenin's death, has ably led the struggle against Trotskyism, states this clearly:

> "The theory of 'permanent revolution' is not simply an underestimation of the revolutionary possibilities of the peasant movement. It is far more than this, for it is so gross an underestimation of the peasant movement that it leads to the *negation* of the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 189.)

While Lenin speaks of an alliance between the proletariat and the laboring masses of the peasants, as a basis for the proletarian dictatorship, Trotsky sees proletarian dictatorship coming into "hostile collision" with the peasant masses.

Says Trotsky:

> "The antagonism which appears under the workers' government in a backward land where the vast majority of the population is made up of peasants can only be solved in the international arena, the arena of the proletarian world revolution."

Here it is clear that Trotsky is unable to see the peasant question dialectically. He sees only the antagonism which exists between the proletariat and the peasantry, but does not see the community of interests between these two groups. What is this community of interests? Comrade Stalin gives a very clear answer to this, saying:

> "There are two paths along which agricultural methods can develop; the path of capitalism, and the path of socialism. The capitalist path leads by way of the impoverishment of the majority of the peasantry to the enrichment of the upper strata of the urban and rural bourgeoisies. The socialist path leads to a systematic betterment in the standard of life among the majority of the peasantry." (Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 237.)

The struggle against the Trotskyist line and for the Leninist line in regard to the peasant question, carried on by the Russian Bolshevik Party, first under the leadership of Lenin and later under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, has been a long stubborn struggle for the Marxist-Leninist policy. In this fight the Bolshevik Party has firmly followed the path of Lenin, and has clearly kept in mind Lenin's words:

> "*Nothing but an understanding with the peasants* can save the socialist revolution in Russia until the revolution takes place in other lands."

The Russian Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin has fought just as stubbornly against any other distortion of the Marxist-Leninist policy on the peasant question. Lenin fought against leaders of the Second International and against the Russian

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Mensheviks, who both ignored the peasants; against the Social Revolutionists, who made no distinction between the various social strata of peasantry and who wanted to utilize the peasants in support of the bourgeoisie and against the proletarian revolution. Stalin fought against the Right-wing line of Bukharin and others, which abandoned the fight against the kulaks.

The Leninist policy has been tested in the practice of the fierce class struggle. It has led the Russian proletariat to victory over Czarism and the bourgeoisie, in which struggles the proletariat was supported by the peasantry. It has enabled the Russian proletariat to maintain the proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet Government. It has made it possible for the Russian proletariat to make gigantic steps forward in building socialism and to march towards the classless society.

The policy developed by Lenin in relation to the peasant question, to the proletarian revolution, and the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship, is the further development of the ideas propounded by Marx and Engels, into a definite policy and into practical application. Comrade Stalin has developed this policy further especially in its application to the period of socialist construction.

The relentless struggle for the correct policy on the peasant question has not been an abstract theoretical fight. It has been conducted in the vital movements of the preparations for the revolutions and in connection with the life-and-death struggle for the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship, and in the struggle for building socialism in one country.

We Communists of all countries are fortunate in inheriting this rich treasure of Leninist theory and practice on the relation of the peasant question to the proletarian revolution and to the proletarian dictatorship, not only as far as Lenin dealt with this question on the Russian scene, but in the applicability of his teachings to the conditions of the other countries. Lenin was concerned not only with the Russian revolution. He was an internationalist. He was the leader of the international revolutionary movement. The fundamental tasks that Lenin set forth to the Communist Parties of all countries in relation to the peasantry are embodied in the "Thesis on the Agrarian Question" adopted at the Second World Congress of the Communist International. Lenin studied particularly American agriculture, writing a series of articles on the "Development of Capitalism in American Agriculture."

Our Party has begun to follow this Leninist path in making serious efforts to win over the exploited American farmers to the side of the revolutionary proletariat. The deep-going crisis in American capitalist economy, coupled with the economic crisis of inter-

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national capitalism, has created an extremely favorable situation for our work among the farmers. The support given by our Party and the revolutionary workers under our leadership to the struggles of the poor, small and ruined middle farmers against the bankers, monopolies, landlords and their agents, has gained wide support for our Party among considerable number of these farmers. But although our Party has gained very valuable experience in its work among the farmers, nevertheless, in the course of our work a number of mistakes, unclarities and weaknesses have occurred. Many of these were pointed out in the Agrarian Resolution of the Party Conference last July. (See the pamphlet entitled *Communist Position on the Farmers' Movement,* published by the Workers' Library Publishers.)

This Leninist criticism has enabled us to overcome many shortcomings and errors in our work. This was especially helpful for the Communist fraction in overcoming opportunist mistakes made at the farmers' first united front conference, in the recently held Farmers' Second National Conference.

However, it is clear that we have reflections of all those distortions, confusions and unclarities from the Leninist line, that Lenin and Stalin fought so sharply and mercilessly. We are facing these problems more and more as they crop up.

No one can deny, for instance, that there are Trotskyist reflections in our Party towards the work among the farmers. It does not appear so much in words, but it is expressing itself in an indifferent attitude towards the work among the farmers, in the frequently sneering attitude to this work.

Comrade Stalin sharply condemns this attitude, stating that "indifference to so important a problem as the peasant problem is tantamount to the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is an open betrayal of Marxism". Surely this must be a sharp reminder to all the comrades concerned to abandon such an indifference, especially at a period when our Party is faced with the task of winning over the leadership of a constantly rising upsurge of the exploited farmers. For no one who has an indifferent attitude towards the work among the farmers is fitted for mobilizing the Party and revolutionary workers for the leadership of the farmers' struggle.

There are a number of right opportunist unclarities cropping up in connection with the formulation of programs, demands, etc. We have not yet applied clearly the Leninist analysis of the Second Congress thesis on the question of different social categories of the farmers. Consequently we have failed to place sufficient emphasis in our work on the poor and small farmers.

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The national question and the question of land among the Negro sharecroppers require much more attention and clarity in connection with the whole struggle for full social equality for the Negro people and in the struggle for self-determination in the Black Belt.

To the extent that our Party is able to clarify the Leninist policy in connection with its practical work among the farmers, it will be equipped to expose the dangerous demagogy of the capitalist politicians (Roosevelt's New Deal and his Brain Trust propaganda), the Menshivist indifference of the Socialist Party and the Lovestone renegades towards the farmers, the Trotskyist attitude of the Socialist Labor Party and I.W.W., who regard all the farmers as exploiters and enemies of the workers. To that extent will it be able to struggle vigorously against the maneuvers of the labor aristocrats, reformist politicians, high salaried farm leaders, and rich farmers, who want to establish a Farmer-Labor Party, dominated by these agents of finance capital and the big bourgeoisie, for the interest of the capitalist class and against the interest of the workers and exploited farmers.

It is the responsibility of the Party leadership to learn from Lenin, who never established a study circle or Party class or school without including the study on the agrarian question. Our study circles, schools, and Party press, too, must become the mediums of educating the Party and the revolutionary workers in the teachings of our great leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, on the agrarian question.

Only when our whole Party is educated on this Marxist-Leninist line, is it ready to understand fully those significant words uttered by Friedrich Engels, co-worker of Karl Marx:

> "The conquest of power by the Socialist Party is imminent. In order to achieve the conquest of power, this Party will have to extend its activities from the town into the countryside, will have to become a power in the rural districts."

Comrade Stalin, who has so ably elaborated Lenin's teachings, calls upon us to draw practical conclusions from the lessons of three Russian revolutions, in which the Leninist policy on the peasant question was hammered out and tested. He says that the laboring masses of the peasantry must be unhesitatingly supported in their fight against servitude and exploitation, against oppression and impoverishment. This does not mean that the proletariat should support every peasant movement without exception, but those movements, those struggles, which tend directly or indirectly to promote the emancipation of the proletariat, to supply motive power to the proletarian mill, to make the peasants a proletarian reserve, to transform them into allies of the urban workers.

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# Leninism and Practical Work Among the Farmers

*By* J. BARNETT

AT this time when the farmers' movement is developing so rapidly the fundamental teachings of Lenin become of tremendous practical significance to us in our everyday work, for only to the degree that we understand and apply these fundamental principles are we able to advance. The very successful Farmers Second National Conference held in Chicago, which the Party supported and among whose leaders were Communists must be judged from this standpoint.

### THE FARMERS SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

This Conference was an achievement in mobilizing the masses of farmers into a united front for struggle around their most pressing demands and into closer solidarity with the working class. It was also a big advance both politically and organizationally over the Farmers First National Conference held a year ago. Three times as many delegates were present, 702 as compared with 238 of last year; and approximately one half more states, 36 as compared with 26, were represented. Last year the conference met in Washington to place demands before Congress. This year it met in a great industrial center, a center of grain exchanges, packing houses, speculators, and food trusts, to challenge these monopolies and the monied interests, and to call upon the farmers to rely, in solidarity with the workers, upon their own united struggle.

At the time of the Conference the situation of the farmers was growing ever more desperate. Farmers were striking in Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and other states. Widespread unrest and disillusionment seethed in the countryside as the New Deal not only failed to bring relief but was more and more exposed as an attempt to relieve finance capital of the burdens of the crisis at the expense of both farmers and workers. The agrarian "backbone" of capitalist democracy was weakening. Besides the serious increase of fascist methods against the militant farmers and workers, a widespread agitation was developing around the third party idea and especially around the Farmer-Labor Party movement.

This situation required that the false schemes of relief be ex-



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posed. It required that the issues upon which all exploited farmers could unite be taken up, that the growing unity between the poor farmers and workers be consolidated and that the rural masses be mobilized into the immediate day-to-day struggle.

We must say that the Conference gave decisive answers on all these questions. It was a very significant event for 702 delegates elected by 115,000 farmers of all political views, all over the country, to challenge the New Deal and to come out squarely against the Farmer-Labor and Liberal Third Party movements.

The character of the main document is significant of the clarity with which the Conference faced its central task. It advanced, not a new program around which a new organization would tend to form, but a genuine united front call to action on immediate issues. From our standpoint this was the correct thing to do. The Communist Party has its program for the farmers and for a revolutionary way out of the crisis; the Left-wing farmers' organizations have their open class struggle programs. The task of the Conference was to sound a call to struggle around issues upon which farmers of all views could unite.

The Conference and the farmers' Call to Action gave a concrete exposure of the New Deal, and the governmental policy of Wall Street carried out by both the Republican and Democratic Parties. While the Conference spoke in no uncertain terms against the Farmer-Labor movement, our task has only begun. It is necessary for us to remember that the democratic illusions and the faith in some third capitalist party are very strong among the farmers. This is especially true since the economic situation of the rich and well-to-do farmers in the crisis throws many of them and their influence behind such a movement. It is an especially serious menace in the Northwest, which is the political center of the farm movement.

A step was made by the Conference in drawing the farmers into closer unity with the workers. Thirty-one agricultural workers were present and a special resolution of solidarity was passed. Not only did the note of solidarity between agricultural and city workers run through the whole conference, but there were special expressions of this. There were many greetings from workers' organizations, and the delegates sent greetings to striking workers. The conference delegates were guests in the homes of Chicago workers where a feeling of common interest developed rapidly and the mass meeting at which the workers greeted the farmer delegates created a lasting impression. It must be stated, however, that the Chicago district did not properly fulfill its responsibilities on these last two points.

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The Communist program for the farmers was presented by the Party at the Conference. We were able to address the Conference officially at a political session to which the five political parties (Republican, Democratic, Farmer-Labor, Socialist and Communist) had been invited to send speakers, and our representative made a very favorable impression on the delegates. The Republican and Democratic Parties contented themselves with sending letters, while the Farmer-Labor Party did not even answer. Only the Socialist and Communist Parties sent speakers. The Communist speaker made a serious analysis of the farmers' problems and presented the revolutionary way out of the crisis, in sharp contrast to the vague speech of the representative of the Socialists. Much favorable comment on the Communist Party speech was heard. At proper opportunities, also, Communist delegates spoke openly as Communists, correctly bringing forward the Party position. Some of the comrades, however, showed a tendency to let their enthusiasm run away with them, and to use leftist phrases. This we must correct.

The Communist Party stood out clearly as a practical leader on the question of a workers' and farmers' government. A delegate raised a proposal that the conference come out for a workers' and farmers' government as a part of the Call of the conference. Another delegate, speaking as a Communist, pointed out that while he stood for a workers' and farmers' government and for an alliance of the farmers and workers in fighting for this, it would be a mistake to require such a endorsement in the Call of a united front conference, supported by farmers of all political opinions. At the same time the question of the workers' and farmers' government was presented to the Conference and can be presented to the farmers all over the country, as a question that was discussed there.

The Call is a sharp exposure of the role of the monied interests. The demands are all revolutionary demands, calling for struggle against finance capital. The adoption of the demand for cancellation of secured debts is of special significance. On the question of higher prices the Conference came out clearly for increased purchasing power at the expense of the monopolies, based upon concrete struggle, for a united fight of the workers and farmers for higher prices to the farmers and lower prices to the workers and consumers.

A demand for lower rents was raised, as was not done at the first conference. The fact that 75 per cent of the delegates were owners whereas less than 50 per cent of the farmers of the U. S. are owners shows that our agitation has neglected the tenant. Much more needs to be done. This demand and the demand for the cancellation of back rents are a definite step forward.

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Solidarity and unity with the Negroes were very well expressed in the reception given the Negro delegates at the Conference. A special demand was formulated on this question in the Call as a main demand of the Conference. A special resolution was passed on the Scottsboro case and greetings sent to the Baltimore Anti-Lynch Conference. Nevertheless, it was evident that there is much confusion on the national question. This is true even among our Party members. An example of this is the argument of some of our comrades against the use of the expression "white ruling class," on the ground that it might arouse antagonism between the Negro and white farmers in the South. Special work must be carried on to clarify and bring out the importance of this question.

The war danger and the development of agriculture in the Soviet Union were special points of the Conference. Resolutions were passed against war and greetings sent in support of the collective farmers in the Soviet Union.

A big step over last year's Conference was the consideration given to special sections of the country, in discussing and formulating special demands for these sections. There were sessions on dairy, corn-hog, crop specialties, cotton—the South, and wheat; also on work among women and youth. Women and youth delegates were elected on the National Committee.

The consolidation of the *Producers News*, the *Farmers National Weekly* and the *Cooperative Bulletin* will be of great importance in giving us a regular, popular, and powerful weekly.

On all of these questions the Conference registered progress. A nation-wide united front network has been established through the National Committee. But there were serious weaknesses which must be pointed out. Space does not permit going into such defects as insufficient utilization of the strike atmosphere in which the Conference met, or certain weaknesses in the post-Conference follow up work.

In view of the objective conditions, this Conference still represents only the beginnings of the work of winning the farmers.

While this was a genuine united front conference, it was too narrow a united front. There were weaknesses also in its preparation. If the Party had been properly mobilized, the Conference could have been twice as large. In a number of places the Left-wing organizations were content to elect from their own locals without calling mass meetings of all toiling farmers to elect delegates. That the united front was not broader was also directly due to the fact that the Farmers National Committee for Action had not carried on sufficiently broad work during the past year.

One of the most serious weaknesses of the Conference and the

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farmers' movement is indicated by its composition. It is clear that we have been orientating our work around the middle farmer to the neglect of the poor and small elements, and that there is a considerable number of kulak farmers in the movement. This judgement is very forcibly supported by the figures obtained from the delegates, even allowing for considerable error in them. The summary of this information appears elsewhere in this issue. It is evident that the task of basing ourselves on the poorest and small farmers is still before us. Only in the South can it be said that we have succeeded in basing ourselves on this most exploited stratum. That is is not accidental but is a result of our orientation in clearly indicated by the fact that we have not consolidated the agricultural workers into a national union in spite of the whole series of militant agricultural strikes.

The delegates of the United Farmers League, the oldest Left-wing organization, were approximately of the same composition as those of the United Front Conference. In Pennsylvania, in Nebraska, and in Michigan, for example, the middle farmers predominate in the leadership.

For a year we have concentrated heavily on Iowa, one of the richest agricultural states in the Union. Its farm population is composed mainly of big farmers, including tenants of large farms, while the number of poor farmers is small. Here 95.6 per cent of the area of the state is in farms, the average farm had over $1200 worth of machinery in 1930, the average value of farm property for every acre of crop land was over $215.

In this state we have concentrated on building a mass movement by winning capitalist farmers along with small farmers. We have paid no attention to the agricultural workers. Nor have we consolidated any organization around the poorest farmers.

Of course, these large farmers are being hit by the crisis. They are militant. Some of the sharpest fights have occurred here, but we cannot assume that a pinched rich farmer automatically becomes a poor farmer, nor must we be misled into thinking that the militancy of these farmers means that they are class conscious. This militancy can be turned into fascist as well as into revolutionary channels. And when it occurs among well-to-do and rich farmers the likelihood is very great that it will be turned into fascist channels, as in Iowa, where Reno has most of his following and such groups are already organizing secretly. Some of them are even supplied with arms and machine guns.

Should we concentrate on Iowa? Yes, but first of all upon building the Party and the agricultural union; the organization around us of the poorest and smallest farmers in opposition groups

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in conservative and reformist organizations, and into clear Left-wing organizations. By all these means and by the use of the press and literature we must try to disorganize the fascist and social-fascist forces which are being mobilized against us in this state.

When we organize rich farmers we are organizing enemy forces. Unless farmers' organizations are based upon the most exploited sections they will be taken away from us. We have already had instances of meetings and committees of action being taken over by the enemy because we had organized them primarily around the well-to-do and large farmer elements.

Another example of wrong orientation is indicated by the conception of an organizer who said: "The only people who will fight are those who had something and have lost it or are going to lose it." In one township he put forward as a leader a gentleman farmer with a large orchard and one hundred fruit pickers.

Closely associated is the attitude expressed by some others that now we have only rich and poor farmers. This means an actual orientation around the middle farmer as the typical "poor" farmer.

We must state, however, that the Conference Call and the demands formulated center around the poorest, small and ruined middle farmers. On this question there is a marked difference between this Conference and last year's Conference. As struggles are developed around these demands the small farmers will be drawn in to support them; also the kulak farmers will become less and less enthusiastic about actual struggle for such demands. Already this is clear. One of our organizers has the following to say: "The only real meeting I had in which the program was presented, resulted in a very bad reaction. It caused more criticism (particularly debt cancellation) than I have had in the past year combined, and if I am any judge, we are completely washed up in that locality. However, there is another side to that picture—it is quite a rich farming area and most of the farmers were typical kulaks".

One of the most urgent tasks before us now is to draw much larger numbers of the most exploited farmers into this movement; to base ourselves upon them, at the same time attracting the middle farmers; and to put into practice the principles so clearly stated by Lenin on this question. Our basic tasks in the countryside were outlined by Lenin in the remarkable Thesis of the Second Congress. Following this, our Party in the Open Letter and in the Resolution on the Farmers' Movement at the Extraordinary Conference has given the following fundamental directives on the immediate situation in the United States:

> ". . . Therefore, the main strategic line of the Party in its entire agrarian policy and especially in its political work among the

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> farmers must be the line of the alliance of the proletariat (city and country) with the poorest and the small farmers. But in the U. S., where the middle farmers, especially in connection with the unprecedented devastation of the general economic crisis, are feeling . . . enormous oppression and exploitation by the banks, trusts, and insurance companies, where, owing to this, the struggle of the farmers is directed against finance capital and is coming much nearer to the struggle of the proletariat, it is quite possible to attract considerable sections of the middle farmers to support the alliance of the proletariat (city and country) with the small and poorest farmers while the remainder of the middle farmers who are wavering between the working class and the capitalist class can be neutralized."

We must expose and eliminate the rich farmers by exposing their lagging behind, their betrayal and sabotage of the struggle. It is in struggle that we can best expose them. They are our chief enemies in the countryside, against whom we must wage the sharpest fight. The Second Congress Thesis states that the big farmers

> "...are capitalists in agriculture, managing their lands usually with several hired laborers. They are connected with the 'peasantry' only by their rather low standard of culture, their way of living, the personal manual work of their land. This is...the decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. The chief attention of the Communist Party in the rural districts must be given to the struggle against this element, to the liberation of the laboring and exploited majority of the rural population from the moral and political influence of these exploiters."

If we permit ourselves a compromising attitude towards these elements, how will we expose them? How will we convince the poorest, small and middle farmers that we are clear-sighted leaders if we orientate around elements which will soon be among their bitterest enemies? With the wave of fascist lynch terror spreading all over the country the question of our fight against fascist tendencies in the countryside should be taken up with greater intensity.

In view of all these factors it is clear that the Right tendencies are still very deep and strong, that this is the main danger facing us and which will continue to face us during this period. On the other side we still see "Left" sectarian tendencies among the comrades, especially in the United Farmers League.

If we are to continue to go forward, if we are to consolidate this movement into a revolutionary force, our comrades must study these fundamental questions analyzed by Lenin and Stalin. The Second Congress Thesis and the documents of the Extraordinary Conference must be studied and applied in our daily work.

Some of the most immediate tasks are:

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To draw the poorest and small farmers into action and to build our struggles around them. To bring the Call to Action into life, spreading united front struggles all over the country. The *Farmers National Weekly* must become a mass organ.

To broaden the United Front Committee movement, to unite new elements around the immediate issues.

To consolidate our Left wing organizations, clarify their programs on class issues and class lines. The rich farmers in the U.F.L. must be ruthlessly exposed. At the same time it is necessary to broaden the program of the U.F.L. so as to include all toiling farmers ready to join in the class battles. To spread the opposition movement in reformist, old line, and cooperative organizations.

The necessity of building the Party and of a clear Party program comes before us ever more sharply. It is only by building the Party that we can build the farm movement and keep it on the right track. The indifference of Party members and Party districts to this work must be overcome.

We are taking a leading part in a serious and growing farmers' movement; we are learning and must continue to learn how to guide and consolidate this movement.


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# Class Composition of the Farmers Second National Conference, Chicago, 1933

*By* GEORGE ANSTROM

FOR the first time in the history of the Party's agrarian work we now have material which serves as an organizational yardstick. This analysis of the schedules filled out by 408 farmer delegates provides the means for determining the class composition of the Conference delegates. Because of the method of elections, we can safely assume that these delegates are representative of the masses who elected them. As a result of this analysis we must conclude:

1. That the farmers attending the Conference were predominantly middle farmers.

2. That the organization work and program of the Farmers' National Committee for Action, the militant United Farmers League and other organizations have centered too much around middle farmers and have failed proportionately to mobilize poor farmers.

The total registration of the Conference was 702 delegates, 619 of whom were regular delegates and 83 fraternal, representing non-farmer organizations and including office staff. For the purposes of this analysis we have eliminated all non-farming elements. Those excluded were fraternal delegates, organizers not farming, and office staffs. Approximately 200 farmers came late or for other reasons failed to fill out schedules. Nevertheless, 408 delegates who are actively operating farms did fill out their schedules. As these farmers were a majority of the Conference, coming from all sections of the United States, and are equal to two thirds of the operating farmer delegates, we believe they represent a true cross-section of all farmers present. We have, therefore, used their 408 schedules as the basis for all our calculations and conclusions.

Because the forms of exploitation and the systems of production vary so greatly in American agriculture, we felt it necessary to divide the United States into six areas where typical crops predominate and conditions are, therefore, fairly uniform.



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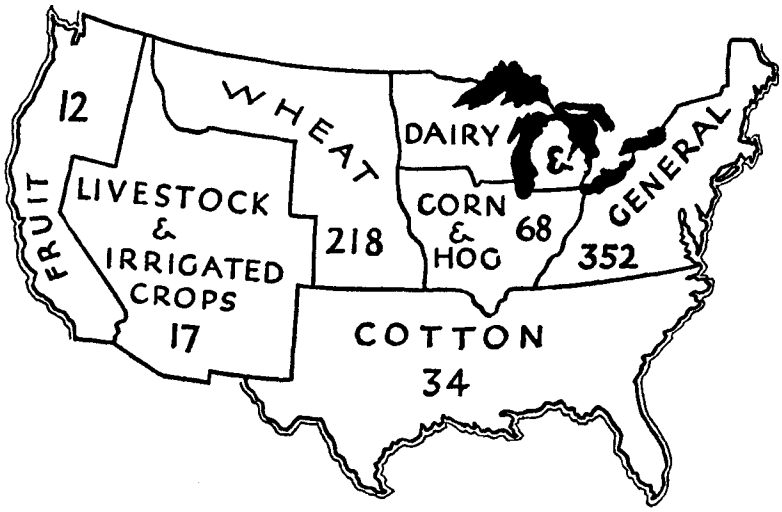


CROP BELTS OF U. S. FIGURES INDICATE NUMBER OF DELEGATES

GENERAL DATA

The largest number of delegates came from the dairy and wheat belts. Only 19% signed New Deal contracts for acreage reduction—mostly in the wheat belt. Seventy-nine per cent of the delegates reported activities in fighting foreclosures or organizational work. Seventy per cent had automobiles and 23% had a combination of auto-truck or tractor. But all motors were three to eight years old. Our farm press was read by 70% of the delegates; 38% subscribed to the *Farmers National Weekly*, and 44% subscribed to the *Producers News;* there was some overlapping; 12% subscribed to radical papers.

*The penetration into old line organizations* was shown by the fact that 149 of the delegates reporting came from the following organizations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Farmer-Labor Party | 1 |
| National Holiday Association (Milo Reno) | 43 |
| Grange Locals<br>Farm Bureau<br>Farmers Union | 46 |
| Unorganized | 59 |

In the following table No. 1 we have divided the total Conference delegates according to the crop belt from which they came. We have also indicated the total number of farms in each crop belt

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reported by the 1930 census. This gives a base for estimating the percentage of total organized farmers who have actively supported the United Front.

Table No. 1—ORIGIN OF DELEGATES

| Areas | No. of delegates registered | No. represented by delegates | Total farms in areas | Per cent United Front elements to total farms | Total schedules | U.F.L. schedules |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total United States | 701 | 109,885* | 6,288,648† | 1.7 | 408 | 130 |
| Dairy and General Crop Belt | 352 | 19,805 | 1,325,187 | 2.1 | 185 | 60 |
| Cotton Belt | 34 | 7,804 | 2,671,052 | 0.3 | 19 | 0 |
| Corn-Hog Belt | 68 | 501 | 1,332,730 | 0.04 | 29 | 0 |
| Wheat Belt | 218 | 61,811 | 504,127 | 12.2 | 52 | 61 |
| Livestock Belt (irrig.) | 17 | 660 | 193,819 | 0.2 | 12 | 3 |
| Fruit Belt | 12 | 19,295 | 261,733 | 7.4 | 10 | 6 |

* This total includes 18,000 agricultural workers in California Fruit Belt.
† U. S. Census.

The above table also shows the origin of the 130 United Farmers League delegates. Most of them came from the wheat belt and Minnesota and Wisconsin within the general farm and dairy belt. There were no U.F.L. delegates from either the cotton or corn-hog belts.

The "Per Cent United Front Elements" may be somewhat overestimated as several members of a family are often counted in the total "membership" reported by farmers.

The following Table No. 2 gives an economic summary of all farmers reporting, as compared with U.F.L. farmers reporting:

Table No. 2—ECONOMIC SUMMARY OF DELEGATES

| 408 delegates | Tenure All Delegates: Per cent owners | Per debt tenants | Owners Per cent owners: Mortgaged | Back taxes | Owners and Tenants Per cent owing: Feed seed loan | Other debts | No debts | Per cent no net income | Per cent who hired no labor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALL 100%... | 74.8 | 25.2 | 88.0 | 74.1 | 27.1 | 42.9 | 15.3 | 62.0 | 60.2 |
| U.F.L.— 130=100% .. | 80.0 | 20.0 | 75.2 | 72.6 | 28.9 | 55.3 | 9.7 | 60.0 | 64.1 |

The economic conditions of United Farmers League farmers have been compared with all Conference farmers wherever possible. It must be noted how close the U.F.L. parallels the other farmers. However, there were more U.F.L. owners, fewer tenants, and fewer mortgaged owners.

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To broaden our basis for estimating the class character of the delegates, we have divided the above summary into the crop belt areas in the following table:

Table No. 3—ECONOMIC CONDITION OF DELEGATES ACCORDING TO AREAS AND FOR THE UNITED STATES AS A WHOLE*

| Areas | Per cent tenants | | Per cent having debts | | Per cent mortgaged | | Per cent having back taxes | | Per cent no net income | | Per cent with no hired labor | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All | U.F.L. | All | U.F.L. | All | U.F.L. | All | U.F.L. | All | U.F.L. | All | U.F.L. |
| All delegates— all areas.. | 25 | 20 | 85 | 92 | 88 | 75 | 74 | 73 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 64 |
| Dairy and General . | 10 | 10 | 84 | 88 | 79 | 69 | 47 | 63 | 51 | 36 | 60 | 75 |
| Cotton Belt. | 55 | — | 95 | — | 57 | — | 80 | — | 85 | — | 80 | — |
| Corn-Hog Belt..... | 61 | — | 74 | — | 69 | — | 55 | — | 50 | — | 58 | — |
| Wheat Belt. | 37 | 33 | 89 | 91 | 92 | 86 | 77 | 86 | 80 | 66 | 64 | 49 |
| Livestock Belt..... | 0 | 0 | 92 | 100 | 77 | 67 | 83 | 67 | 58 | 34 | 60 | 34 |
| Fruit Belt .. | 0 | 0 | 100 | 100 | 89 | 67 | 67 | 50 | 37 | 50 | 55 | 34 |

* Percentages are shown in nearest whole number.

The above-given table illustrates uniform bankruptcy of the poor and middle farmers throughout the United States. It also shows the greater number of poor farmers in the South if we combine the factors of "No Income" and "No Hired Labor" along with "Debts".

While this table permits comparisons between the delegates of the several crop belts, we felt the need for a common economic denominator by which all delegates could be separated into classes.

As the main basis for determining our classes, we took a combination of the size of the farm, the 1930 value per acre and the original investment in land and buildings. The latest figures on value per acre for different areas and different types of farms are to be found in the U. S. Census for 1930. To compensate in part for the further drop in land values since 1930, we did not include original investment or present value of livestock, machinery, and other equipment.

We set our upper limits for the small farmers at $5,000 per farm; for the middle farmers at $20,000 per farm. A farmer with more than $20,000 investment, according to 1930 values, we class as a large farmer. Of course, there are always exceptions to these fixed limits.

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The upper limit of $5,000 for poor farmers was taken because the vast majority of farms of all types falling within this limit never yielded a net income sufficient to support a family. For a generation the average income for such farms has been below $150 net. Such farms hire no labor, or only, in exceptional cases, for short seasonal periods on special crops. Practically all, whether tenants or owners, are hopelessly in debt to banker or landlord. Errors due to exceptions cancel each other on both sides of this limit.

Each main crop area and each type of farm, whether grain, dairy, corn-hog, etc., was analyzed separately according to the possibilities of income return, size of investment, and value of farm. Then the small farmers from all areas, the middle farmers from all areas, etc., were each combined to get a class total of all farmers filling in the schedules. Finally, the percentages of small, middle, and large farmers were arrived at for the delegates as a whole and then for the United Farmers League delegates separately.

In order that the class table should have comparative value, the same process was applied to all farms reported by the U. S. Census of 1930. The South was estimated separately because of its extreme poverty and exploitation so as not to weight comparisons of the East, Middle West, and Northwest from which most of our delegates came. Thus the extreme exploitation of the "cotton croppers" is not confused with the relatively prosperous tenant in the Corn-Hog Belt. (See Table No. 3.)

The table below shows the class comparison on a percentage basis.

Table No. 4—CLASS CHARACTER OF CONFERENCE DELEGATES, U. F. L. DELEGATES, IN U. S. (EXCEPT COTTON) AND COTTON FARMS

| CLASS | Per cent 408 Conference Delegates | Per cent 130 U.F.L. Delegates | Per cent All U.S. Farmers (except cotton) | Per cent All Cotton Farmers |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small farmers ..... | 19.7 | 20.8 | 29.9 | 56.1 |
| Middle farmers ..... | 64.6 | 66.9 | 58.3 | 36.6 |
| Large farmers ..... | 15.7 | 12.3 | 11.8 | 7.3 |

This table shows clearly that the class character of the Conference was predominately middle farmers. But the most striking fact illustrated is that this cannot be attributed to the United Front program alone. The results of the United Farmers League when measured by the same yardstick show an equal failure to mobilize poor farmers.

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Obviously our failure to organize struggle around rents and "other debts" and our emphasis on "mortgage moratorium", "tax sales", "foreclosure sales", etc., have attracted middle and upper middle farmers and failed to interest a majority of the poorer tenants. See Table No. 2: 75% owners; only 25% tenants. In the U. S. today 50% are tenants; in the U.F.L., 20%.

This year's United Farmers League program will make that turn. Its first result will be a loss of many pseudo-radical individuals, whose militancy must never be confused with radicalism; nor can the danger of fascist reaction from such elements be forgotten.

The fascist danger is particularly great in the agrarian states of the mid-West corn and hog belt, where, in the richest agricultural area in the world, ruin has descended with comparative suddenness. The most militant strikes and struggles have occurred in this area and amony dairy farmers in neighboring states. We must immediately establish a base among the poor farmers and agricultural proletarians.

Our conclusion that we have concentrated upon middle farmers, and neglected poor farmer demands and struggles, does not mean that we should abandon our position as the leader of militant middle farmers. But no one studying the results of our work on the basis of our Chicago Conference, can deny that we must sharpen the class lines of our programs, and broaden the struggles of last year.

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# Lenin and the American Negro

*By* JAMES S. ALLEN

LENIN was forced to give special attention to the national question because of all the obstacles put in the way of the creation of a real internationalist Bolshevik Party by the Czarist Empire, "the prison of nations" as he termed it. The fact that Great Russia oppressed a whole series of weaker nations, where, as in the home country, the bourgeois-democratic revolution had not yet been completed, made the task all the more difficult, gave rise to all kinds of deviations towards bourgeois nationalism within the Parties of the oppressed nations and towards Great-Russian chauvinism within the working class movement of Russia proper. In Lenin's approach to and solution of these problems we should therefore find an answer to the vexing, although less complicated, problems facing the Communist Party of the U.S.A. as a result of the imperialist oppression of the colonies and the American Negroes. Space, however, will not permit us even to venture a comprehensive exposition of Lenin's views on this problem. We will only touch upon two aspects of Lenin's teachings which are of special significance at the present time, particularly in connection with the Negro question.

## THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

For the benefit of those who fail to see the connection of the development of the proletarian revolution in the United States with fighting for equal rights for Negroes and for all the democratic demands raised in the struggle for Negro liberation, including the right of self-determination, it is well to recall Lenin's position on the relation between the national-revolutionary and proletarian movements. As Marx and Engels considered every national movement from the point of view of the destruction of feudalism and the advance of the working class movement, Lenin weighed every national-revolutionary movement from the point of view of the overthrow of imperialism. Today imperialism has penetrated every nook of the earth, no matter how remote, and implanted capitalist relations in one form or another upon a patriarchal or feudal soil. At the same time, however, it has given to the national-revolutionary struggle not only the object of destroying the pre-capitalist relations, but of overthrowing imperialism at one and the same time.



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In the penetration of the colonies and their complete division among the powers, the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie has allied itself with the native patriarchal or feudal class in the struggle against the national revolution. Imperialism has, therefore, given to the proletariat of the oppressing countries, a powerful ally in the national-revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial world.

In his polemics against the deviations of the Polish Social-Democrats on the national question ("The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," 1916), in which he gives them a sound thrashing for their annexationist, anti-self-determination position, Lenin drives home the very core of the problem:

> "Just precisely in the 'era of imperialism', which is the era of incipient social revolution, the proletariat today supports with all its power the rebellion of annexed territories *so that tomorrow, or simultaneously with the rebellion, it may attack the bourgeoisie of the 'great power' which is weakened by that rebellion.*" (Our emphasis.)

And Lenin points out that since 1898, the year of the Spanish-American War, which roughly marks the beginning of the world imperialist era, Czarism, against which Marx and Engels had directed their main fire, had ceased to be the chief bulwark of reaction. Whereas formerly the socialist movement "was first of all against Czarism and for the revolutionary peoples of the West forming big nations", at present it is "against the united front of the imperialist nations, of the imperialist bourgeoisie, of the social imperialists, and *for utilizing all national movements against imperialism for a social revolution*".

Lenin viewed the national question from the point of view of the development of the proletarian revolution. His main perspective is the weakening of world imperialism and he therefore supports every serious revolutionary movement which acts in that direction, as a prerequisite or as a simultaneous condition for the direct attack of the proletariat upon the bourgeoisie. And one of the most vital points for attack in U. S. imperialism lies precisely in the Black Belt, where the remnants of slavery and imperialist oppression have created the sharpest antagonisms, where the Negro question throughout the country has its roots.

Lenin wrote the above-quoted passage in a polemic against the Polish comrades, who, in their reaction against bitter Polish bourgeois nationalism, went to the extreme in demanding that the Russian Bolsheviks should drop from their program the slogan of the right of self-determination for Poland. The Polish comrades

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thought that the slogan of the socialist revolution must not be covered up by the national question. How often has this argument been repeated, how it has persisted, despite the continual warfare against this dangerous deviation by Marx and Engels and again by Lenin!

It is to be found in smart American trappings in the Socialist Party position that the "Negro question is a pure labor question"; in the Lovestoneite dress and petticoats of "caste and class" which are, however, transparent enough to reveal the essential Social-Democratic body; in the opinion but recently expressed in our own ranks by a responsible Party newspaper that the Negro question is fast becoming but a "pure class question".

Lenin has no patience with the pedants of "pure proletarian revolution". In a special section of the article quoted above, devoted to the Irish Rebellion in 1916 and the views of Radek, who partook of the Polish Social-Democrats' mistakes, Lenin berated him roundly for his "contemptuous attitude towards the national movements of small nations". (Those who turn up their noses at the Cuban revolution and think that a Soviet movement there is doomed to ignominious failure, please take note!) Radek had attempted to pass off the Irish Rebellion as a "*putsch*". This was quite in line with the denial by Rosa Luxemburg and the Polish comrades of the ability of small nations oppressed by imperialism to put up any active opposition to imperialism, and, consequently, the uselessness for the proletariat of supporting such national movements. After pointing out the rebellions during the first two years of the imperialist war among the Indian troops in Singapore, in the French Annam, the German Cameroon, among the Irish and among the Czechs, Lenin wastes no words in declaring that anybody who calls such a revolutionary movement as the Irish rebellion a *putsch* "is either a bitter reactionary or a doctrinaire, hopelessly incapable of imagining a social revolution as a living phenomenon".

> "For," he points out, "to think that a social revolution is possible without rebellions of small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary explosions of a part of the small bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without a movement of the non-class-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against feudal, ecclesiastical, monarchical, national, etc., oppression—to think that way is to *give up the social revolution*. . . .
>
> "Whoever is looking for a 'pure' social revolution, will never live to see it. He is a revolutionist in words only, but does not understand the real revolution."

In these few lines Lenin concentrates his whole "wrath" against those comrades whose doctrinaireness blinded them to the mighty

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sweep of the proletarian revolution. And his words apply with equal force to those comrades who today—despite the numerous indelible lessons revealed by the sweep of the October Revolution, despite the daily and growing testimony of the revolutionary character of the struggle for Negro liberation in the United States, for real self-determination in Cuba, the Philippines, etc.,—fail to understand that the revolutionary proletariat must forge this link in its day-to-day agitation and activities. Scratch a "pure" revolutionist on the Negro question and you are sure to find a white chauvinist. And what, indeed, is more "revolutionary" than to excuse oneself from the pressing and growing demands of the struggle for Negro liberation and of the independence struggles in the colonies, than to cry "revolution"?

The struggle of the Negro people for liberation from the yoke of American imperialism is precisely of that character which makes the proletarian revolution not "pure" and "restricted", but broadens its scope, brings to it a tremendous reservoir of revolutionary energy. In one of the polemics which Lenin undertook in 1916 against those "Marxists" who objected to Paragraph 9 in the program of the Russian Party in regard to self-determination, ("About a Caricature of Marxism and About 'Imperialist Economism' ") he states:

> "The social revolution cannot come about except as an epoch of proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries, combined with a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including movements for national liberation, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations."

He points out further that:

> "National oppression of any kind calls forth the resistance of the *broad masses* of the people; and the resistance of a nationally oppressed population always *tends* towards national revolt."

### LENIN AND THE AMERICAN NEGROES

The ferocious oppression of the Negroes in the United States is calling forth greater and greater resistance from the broad masses of the Negro people, and this resistance is fast becoming one of those "revolutionary movements" tending towards national revolt. Lenin considered the Negro liberation struggle a movement of this character. The passage in the *Theses of the Second World Congress* is already well known here in which he speaks of the necessity "to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American Negroes, etc.) and in the colonies". Lest someone venture to argue that this reference to the

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American Negroes as a *subject nation* in the context of a political and, consequently, thoroughly thought out document on the national and colonial question, may have "slipped in", let us recall the following facts.

Well in advance of the Congress, Lenin submitted his Theses on the colonial and national question to leading comrades. He attached a memorandum to the documents asking "those comrades especially with concrete knowledge of one or another phase of this very complicated question" to give their opinions and make their suggested corrections. He also asked them to give concrete data and experiences on a number of oppressed nations and colonies. He lists 15 of these oppressed nations and colonies about which he wanted the information. In this list (which included Austria, Polish Jews, Ukraine, Ireland, Balkans, China, Korea, Caucasus, etc.) there also appeared "the Negroes in America". It could only have been after due deliberation that he singled out the American Negroes for special mention in the final theses.

It is very instructive also to recall what Lenin wrote about the Negroes in the South in his large work, *New Data on the Laws of Capitalist Development in Agriculture: Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America.* This work is concerned primarily, as the title indicates, with the extent and nature of capitalist economic relations in agriculture and with refuting the views of the bourgeois-democratic economists on this subject. In order to do this he makes a detailed study of the development of agriculture in the United States, comparing it with agriculture in European countries. Lenin divides the United States for the purpose of his study into five distinct agricultural areas, of which the South is one. It should be kept in mind that Lenin was interested in this subject, not only to obtain a correct and comprehensive view of the development of capitalism, but particularly to apply this to the situation in Russia, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution was still on the order of the day. Let us first quote those passages from this work which have a direct bearing on the question:

> "The United States of America, writes Mr. Himmer [a bourgeois economist], is 'a country that never knew feudalism and has none of its economic survivals'. This statement is contrary to the facts, for the economic survivals of *slavery* are not distinguished in any respect from those of feudalism, and in the former slave-owning South of the United States these survivals *are still very powerful.* It would not be worth while to dwell upon the mistake of Mr. Himmer if it were merely that of a hastily written article. But the entire liberal and populist literature of Russia goes to show that the very same 'mistake' is made systematically and stubbornly

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with regard to the Russia *share-cropping* system—our survival of feudalism.

". . . It is not necessary to elaborate upon the degraded social position of the Negro. The American bourgeoisie is not distinguished in this respect from the bourgeoisie of any other country. Having 'freed' the Negroes they took good care, on the basis of 'free' and republican-democratic capitalism, to re-establish everything possible and do all in their power for the most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes."

Citing the comparative figures for illiteracy as between the South and the rest of the country and as between white and Negro, Lenin continues:

"One can easily imagine the aggregate of legal and social relationships corresponding to this disgraceful condition in the field of literacy.

"What then is the economic foundation upon which this fine superstructure developed and is maintained?

"It is a foundation typically Russian, the 'real Russian' system of *share tenancy, viz., share-cropping.*

"More than that, we have here [in the South] tenants, not in the European sense of cultured modern capitalism. We are dealing here mainly with semi-feudal relationships, or, what is the same from an economic point of view, with the semi-slavery system of share-cropping. . . .

"The share-cropping region, both in America and Russia, is the most backward region, where the toilers are subjected to the greatest degradation and oppression. . . . The American South is to the 'liberated' Negroes akin to a prison, hemmed in, backward, without access to fresh air.

". . . There is a striking similarity between the economic posi- of the American Negro and that of the former serf of the central agricultural provinces of Russia.

"The anxiety of the Negroes to free themselves from the plantations over one half century after the 'victory' over the slaveholders is still proceeding with great energy."

We have taken the trouble to quote these passages at length because this work is not yet available in English* and because here Lenin gives a penetrating and highly important analysis of the economic and social situation of the Negroes. In the above passage the principal points to be noted are:

1. The economic survivals of slavery are still very powerful in the South.

2. These economic survivals of slavery are "*not distinguished in any respect from those of feudalism*".

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* It is now being made available by International Publishers.

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3. This survival in the Southern states is the share-cropping system.

4. The system of share-cropping lies at the basis of the oppression of the Negroes.

5. The Negroes are in motion "to free themselves from the plantations".

American bourgeois economists, historians and sociologists have shared in the mistake of Mr. Himmer in holding that society in the United States has never experienced feudalism. This supposed fact has been used by them as well as by some "Marxist" writers to explain away certain "baffling peculiarities" of American bourgeois society and the "backwardness" of the American working class. The absence of feudalism in any of its forms is supposed to have left capitalism free from any of the heritages of feudalism, permitted a fuller and freer development of democracy without the encumbrances of inherited economic and social antagonisms and thus permitted the working class a fuller measure of privileges and freedom than prevailed in European countries during the period of the growth and expansion of capitalism. As a matter of fact, however, the United States *did experience* feudalism to a comparatively late date (1865) in the form of the slave system, which was feudalism in a very high stage of development, having almost from its very beginning all the elements of rapid disintegration in the form of commodity production (cotton for the world market), but prolonged and stimulated by the very services it was rendering the growing industrial capitalism in the Northeast of the United States and in England. The production of cotton for the world market, within a feudal formation, with a correspondingly important role played by merchant capital, was bound to, and did, destroy the system which it nourished. And, as Lenin points out, just as the abolition of serfdom in Russia left powerful survivals in the form of share-cropping, the abolition of slavery also left powerful survivals in the South in the form of share-cropping.

A precise understanding of this fact is absolutely essential for a correct view of the development of American capitalism and its present process of transformation, and for an appreciation of the character of the Negro question, in particular, in all its ramifications. The principal reason that Lenin took such great pains to refute the bourgeois economists in the matter of agricultural development, and went so far afield to do it, was precisely that a correct analysis of these questions was absolutely essential to the working out of a correct policy for the Russian Bolsheviks in relation to the bourgeois-democratic revolution. It was precisely on the basis of a comprehensive understanding of all the inter-relations of a society in which

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strong remnants of feudalism persisted side by side with the development of capitalism and an industrial proletariat that Lenin formulated the policy of the Bolsheviks during the Revolution of 1905 and later, under altered conditions, of the Revolution of 1917. As early as 1896, in his large work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, he was already belaboring the populist economists and historians for their contention that Russia never experienced feudalism in the sense that it existed in Western Europe. And the same mistake is made here, just as "persistently and stubbornly" in regard to slavery and the remnants of slavery.*

It is necessary to point out that since Lenin wrote his work on American agriculture the situation in the Southern Black Belt has not been radically changed, despite the industrialization of the South and the migration of about one million Negroes into the North during and after the world war. The share-cropping system remains practically intact, still a powerful survival of slavery, bearing even sharper forms of antagonisms and even more potent with revolutionary eruption due to that very industrialization which was supposed by some to herald the vanishing into thin air of the share-cropping system and the Negro peasantry with it. This economic survival of slavery still remains the main basis upon which the oppression of the Negro people rests.

After pointing out the "most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes" and the nature of the South which for the Negroes is like "a prison, hemmed in, backward, without access to fresh air", Lenin declares that the foundation upon which this superstructure of oppression rests is the system of share-cropping, "a foundation typically Russian". We might add that the share-cropping system, the economic survival of slavery, serves also as the foundation for the oppression and persecution of Negroes in the North and West where they have in vain sought refuge from the prison of the South. And Lenin notes that a half century after the Civil War the Negroes are energetically attempting to free themselves from the plantation.

It was the realization by Lenin of the agrarian, bourgeois-democratic nature of the struggle that still had to be accomplished in the South that led him to characterize the American Negroes as a *subject nation*, that led him to apply the same general policy and tactic of the revolutionary proletarian party on the national and colonial questions to the struggle for Negro liberation. It is precisely

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* In this connection Pokrovsky's *Brief History of Russia* (International Publishers) is valuable. He compares feudalism as was present in Russia and in Western Europe and rejects the old Russian school of historians on this question.

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the facts pointed out by Lenin in connection with his study of agriculture in the South of the United States that lie at the basis of the Party's position on the Negro question, that form the core of the program of equal rights and the right of self-determination for the American Negroes.

Space has not permitted us to go into all of Lenin's teachings on the national question, into the full breadth of his thought on this extremely complicated question. His teachings, based on the day-to-day problems that he and the Bolsheviks had to face and solve, encompass other aspects of the problem equally important, such as the role of the working class in both the oppressing and oppressed nations, bourgeois nationalism, the right of self-determination and separation, chauvinism, the role of the Parties of the Second International, the solution of the national question by the proletarian revolution as exemplified in the Soviet Union, etc., etc. His writings, in which are reflected and summed up the revolutionary experiences of the whole gamut of social development from feudalism to socialism, continue today to reveal new treasures, each richer than the other. They constitute the principal body of theory, policies and tactics, upon which we can draw to solve the numerous problems facing the revolutionary movement in the United States today.

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# Trotskyism, Vanguard of the Counter-Revolutionary Bourgeoisie

*By* B. K. GEBERT

> "Trotsky is predestined by God himself to hold on to the coat-tails of Kautsky and Bernstein at the present juncture." (Lenin—*Sotsial Demokrat*, No. 43, July 26, 1915).

A NUMBER of years have passed since Trotskyism ceased to be "a faction of Communism", since Mr. Trotsky with his adherents went "in glory" into the camp of the enemy, since the struggle against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, against the U.S.S.R. and against the Comintern became the only concern of this group of renegades and the only reason for its existence. But never before have the Trotskyites proclaimed openly and loudly their actual withdrawal from the Comintern. Until recently, in every article, in every statement, the Trotskyites, under the name of "left opposition", "Leninist-Bolsheviks", etc., posed as a faction of the Comintern. Trotsky's supporters were instructed to mask themselves as the "left opposition" to the Communist Party, to do everything to penetrate the ranks of the Party, even to the point of repudiating Trotsky himself, and to utilize every opportunity to fight against Communism, to spread doubts about the Soviet Union, to create doubts regarding the leadership of the Communist International, to act as an enemy detachment in the vanguard of the proletariat.

In February, 1932, the Trotskyites held their "international" conference at which they adopted a "programmatic declaration" containing a separate section entitled "Faction, and not a Party." The very first paragraph of this section reads:

> "The international left opposition considers itself a faction of the Comintern and its separate national sections as factions of the given Communist Parties."

Here nothing seems changed; but in this declaration, issued when the fist of the fascist dictatorship of Hitler was already



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raised above the heads of the German proletariat, we find an open statement of the renegades in a call for a split:

> "Such a historical catastrophe as the collapse of the Soviet State would naturally wipe out the Third International. The same thing will happen in case of the victory of fascism in Germany."

The counter-revolutionary hope for the collapse of the U.S.S.R. is expressed here in the brotherly spirit of Kautsky, who has time and again predicted the collapse of the U.S.S.R. The victory of fascism in Germany stimulated the hope of these renegades that the revolutionary proletariat of Germany might turn away from its own party and be misled into the counter-revolutionary camp of Trotsky.

The strong influence of the Social-Democracy on the German workers was the main reason that the proletarian vanguard was forced to retreat; but it was a retreat without panic, a temporary retreat to consolidate its forces, and to prepare for further and more decisive struggles against fascism.

Mr. Trotsky, not seeing the German Communist Party on the surface of legal life, decided that this Party, so hated by him, had been destroyed and now he could come openly to the aid of Hitler in an attempt to demoralize, disorganize and disorientate the revolutionary workers. The mask which had already worn so thin, was finally dropped from the face of the renegade. Trotsky writes:

> "The German proletariat will arise. Stalinism never. Before the workers stands the task of building a new Party."

This call to build a "new party", issued at a time of bloody fascist terror against the Communist Party of Germany, is a call to desertion, to treason—it is open service to Hitler. But, alas for Mr. Trotsky, he does not know the German proletariat.

From the factories and workshops, where the Party lives and struggles under conditions of illegality, from the concentration camps and fascist dungeons, where the enemy placed tens of thousands of militant fighters, the mighty voice of the proletariat comes forth: We were not crushed, nor is the enemy able to crush us. We are carrying on a struggle for a Soviet Germany.

### THE NEW SECOND-AND-A-HALF INTERNATIONAL

The appetite of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, in their eagerness to serve the bourgeoisie, is growing from the slogan of

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a "new party" in Germany to a slogan for a "new international." For this purpose Trotsky organized in Paris in August, 1933, a conference of renegades, "left" social fascists, under the name "The Conference of Independent Revolutionary Workers". This conference has set itself the task of laying the basis for the resurrection of the infamous Second-and-a-Half International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International, in a letter to the Independent Labor Party of England, characterized this in the following manner:

> "In practice, such attempts would be an obstacle on the path towards the establishment of the proletarian united front and the unity of the working class on the basis of the class struggle. That was the role of the 2½ International, which held back the revolutionary development of the radicalized workers, so as to return them once more to the fold of the Second International."

On the eve of the November revolution (February 17, 1917), Comrade Lenin characterized the role of Trotsky in the following manner:

> "The name of Trotsky signifies left phraseology, and a bloc with the right against the aim of the left."

The new "international" of Mr. Trotsky differs from the Social-Democracy pramarily in this, that when the Social-Democracy attempts to separate the more backward workers from Communism by poisoning them with reformism, Trotskyism, with its revolutionary mask of "left opposition" and "Bolshevik-Leninists," throws out a net to catch those workers who are dissatisfied with the Social-Democracy, who are leaning toward Communism and the class struggle. He, together with "left" social-fascism (Muste in the U.S.A.), is thus serving the bourgeoisie by preventing the complete ideological separation from them.

If till now the Trotskyites have cried that they are a "faction, and not a party," they have attempted to mislead the workers, for, in relation to the Comintern, they have long been a separate group, constituting one of the detachments of the social-democracy.

Comrade Lenin characterizes Trotsky in the following manner:

> "Trotsky has never yet possessed a definite opinion on any single earnest Marxian question." (*Complete Works*, XII-2 pp. 536-537).

Between Communism and social-democracy there is a basic struggle on the question of bourgeois democracy. We Com-

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munists proclaim before the masses that in the epoch of sharpening class contradictions, in the epoch of imperialist and proletarian revolutions, the "democratic" forms of bourgeois rule pass more and more into the discard. The struggle resolves itself basically around the position: Will there be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in a more naked, brutal form, or a dictatorship of the proletariat? It is clear that the revolutionary proletariat carries on the struggle against all the forces of reaction for its economic and political gains, for its political rights which the bourgeoisie suppresses; but at the same time the Communist International, with thorough clearness, points out to the masses that these struggles for immediate demands, to beat down the offensive of the capitalists and the attack of the bourgeois reaction, are only the links of the final struggle for the only possible democracy for the toiling masses—the proletarian democracy—*the dictatorship of the proletariat!*

Mr. Trotsky, on the contrary, repeats after the social-democracy (in the article addressed to the workers of Austria), that

> "Not antithesis between bourgeois democracy and Soviet democracy, are on the order of the day, but antithesis between bourgeois democracy and fascism."

And it is from this angle that Mr. Trotsky proposes as the first point in his platform for Germany, a bloc between the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party, "*for the defense of the parliamentary government.*"

This is done at a time when Wels, social-democratic leader, openly and cynically declares in the fascist Reichstag that it was the social-democrats who made it possible for Hitler to reach his present position and that the social-democrats fully and completely supported the foreign policy developed by Hitler in his declaration. (For details, see pamphlet of Comrade Fritz Heckert, *What Is Happening in Germany.*)

But does not Trotsky differ from social-democracy at least in that he recognizes the dictatorship of the proletariat? Formally, Mr. Trotsky does not repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat; but how does he place this question today? In his pamphlet *Conversation With a Social-Democratic Worker*, Mr. Trotsky thus attempts to convince the social-democratic worker:

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not at all connected with ruthless methods of the red terror which we were forced to apply in Russia."

Then he dwells on the "backwardness" of pre-revolutionary

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Russia for the purpose of coming to the following conclusion:

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany would have a much softer and a more cultural form than the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia."

For whom is this humbug necessary? Who is to believe in a "soft" dictatorship? Is Mr. Trotsky promising the workers, brutally tortured by fascism, that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be "soft" for his enemies? Or will the bourgeoisie, which floods the streets with workers' blood, cease to struggle against the proletariat because Mr. Trotsky promises the bourgeoisie a "soft" dictatorship, unlike that in the U.S.S.R.? Moreover, he promises in this pamphlet that such a "cultural" dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany would also tend to *"soften the dictatorship in Soviet Russia"!* What does Mr. Trotsky mean when he speaks of "softening", of a "cultural" dictatorship of the proletariat? He answers for himself:

> "The workers' state (in Germany) for different groups of citizens will give technical means for press, in proportion to their real numerical strength. Mr. Hugenberg and other monopolist capitalists of the press industry will have to curtail a little bit. This cannot be helped. Social-Democracy will get its printing means in proportion to the number of its supporters."

Well, if Mr. Trotsky is so generous and already gives to the capitalist class, "proportionately", what hinders him from going a step further and giving them machine-guns, tanks and airplanes in proportion to the counter-revolutionary army of Germany?

In short, the whole propaganda for a "soft" dictatorship is, in reality, propaganda against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mr. Trotsky repeats here the echo and "theories" of Mr. Bauer & Co. In this form, Mr. Trotsky plays the role of the agent of the social-democracy, attempting to unite the dictatorship of the proletariat with bourgeois democracy.

### UNITED FRONT OR BLOC OF TWO PARTIES?

We Communists look upon the social-democracy as a third party of the bourgeoisie, a party especially dangerous because it operates among the workers and covers itself with socialist phraseology. The Trotskyites, on the contrary, look upon the social-democracy as a mass political organization of the working class; in other words, as the *second party of the proletariat.* This is clearly evident in the Trotskyites' "programatic declaration" in Point No. 8:

> "Recognition and necessity to develop a policy of the united

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front toward mass organizations of the working class, both political and trade unions, including the social-democracy as a party."

Further, the Communists declare that social-democracy, in its ideology and practice, paves the way for fascism; that it splits the working class, and so weakens the struggle of the proletariat against fascism. This was clearly explained by Comrade Stalin when he stated, in 1924:

"Fascism is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of social democracy. Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. There exists no reason for supposing that the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie can achieve decisive successes in their struggles or in their leadership of the country without the active support of social democracy. And there is just as little reason to suppose that social democracy can achieve decisive successes in its struggles or in its leadership of the country without the active support by the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie. These organizations do not contradict each other, but complete each other. They are not antipodes but twins . . ."

The Trotskyites, on the contrary, look upon social-democracy and fascism as two basically opposed forces; therefore their position is:

"To reject and condemn the theory of social fascism."

It is sufficient only to glance over the developments in Germany to see clearly that social fascism paved the way for the fascist dictatorship. The post-war history of social democracy in Germany is the history and policy of social democracy from Ebert to Hitler.

In every capitalist country, social democracy is the staunch defender and supporter of capitalism. And it is this party, the third party of the bourgeoisie, that Trotsky proclaims as the second party of the proletariat.

We therefore reject categorically Trotsky's premise that the united front of the working class must be a bloc of two proletarian parties, two mass political organizations of the working class which are the opposition to fascism. For the worker who is not blinded by demagogy there is and can be only one party of the proletariat; only one political organization of the working class which leads the proletariat in struggle. Such an organization, such a party is the Communist Party of every country and the Communist International on a world scale.

In organizing the working class to struggle against the bourgeoisie, the Communists appeal to all workers, social-democratic

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workers, non-Party workers, members of the trade unions, the masses of unorganized workers. These workers may not yet understand the historic tasks of their own class. But the offensive of capital, the fascist terror, hits them hard, just as it hits the Communist workers. That is why we can call for a united struggle of all workers, Communists, Socialists, non-party workers, trade unionists and unorganized masses for a common struggle against the offensive of capital and fascist reaction. We appeal to these workers in the name of their class interests and on this basis attempt to win them. This is the basis for the united front from below, a united front of the masses which will fight against the bourgeoisie, and not a bloc with the social-fascist leaders who sabotage the struggle and lead the masses to capitulate to fascism. The policy of the united front from below does not mean, however, that we never appeal to the committees of the Social Democratic Party. We do, in a concrete situation, make concrete proposals to the respective executive bodies of the social-democratic parties and trade unions, for the purpose of showing them up to the masses as the ones who sabotage the united front. This is not a bloc of two parties, but a united front of the masses in defense of their interests, or for an offensive against capital.

This is our policy, for which we carry on a daily struggle, and on the basis of this policy we set ourselves the task to win the majority of the working class in every country.

At the present time, the Roosevelt government, through the introduction of the NRA, carries with it elements of fascism, which are paving the way for fascism. But the American Trotskyites are of a different opinion. The *Militant*, No. 37, 1933, writes as follows:

> "France of the Third Republic, Germany under the Weimar Constitution and even under the Kaiser, afford much closer parallels to the 'new deal' than Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy."

And further:

> "The first few weeks of the NRA shows, however, that this transition from the old methods of dealing with the workers, with the fist, to the new methods, with the outstretched hand, has not yet been fully made. All the codes have to repeat the statement of the act about the right to collective bargaining, the workers' freedom from compulsion to join company unions, and the willingness of the manufacturers to comply wtih the regulations about hours and wages.

So the NRA is not a fist which hits the workers. There is no more terror against the workers, but a friendly hand stretched out

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by the American capitalists to the American workers. Furthermore, according to this, the NRA guarantees to the workers the right to organize, to strike, etc. This is how they mask the true character of the NRA, hiding its basic purpose, which is further to drive down the standard of the American worker and by fastening him to the leadership of the labor bureaucracy, to gag and shackle him into submission. Will the steel workers of Ambridge, Weirton; the miners of West Virginia, Illinois, etc.; the shoe workers of New York; the textile workers of Paterson; the packinghouse workers of St. Paul and Chicago; the masses of unemployed workers, support the contention of the Trotskyites? There can be only one answer, an emphatic "No." The NRA suppresses the organizational activities of the working class, terrorizes the workers, and it is precisely under the NRA that a new wave of terror has been launched throughout the country, manifesting itself in new lynchings of Negroes, etc. But the American disciples of Trotsky see only a friendly hand stretched out by the capitalists to the workers.

## IN THE ANTI-SOVIET FRONT

In this period of history, society is divided into two worlds, the world of growing socialism and the world of decaying capitalism. To the working class, the colonial peoples and the toiling masses generally, the U.S.S.R. is a living symbol of their aims, and the source of their inspiration. And in relation to the U.S.S.R. the revolutionary worker recognizes who is his enemy and who is his comrade. The U.S.S.R. is hated by every imperialist and every capitalist government. Creating and spreading slanders against the U.S.S.R. is the daily activity of the leaders of social democracy and the reactionary trade unions.

Do the Trotskyites distinguish themselves from attacks upon the U.S.S.R.? On the contrary, they are fighting hard for first place, to become the vanguard of the counter-revolution against the U.S.S.R. In every word which the Trotskyites utter about the U.S.S.R. one feels the hatred which consumes these renegades, who have deserted the revolution and now support the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Stalin, in a letter to the editors of the *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia*, describes the role of Trotskyism in the following manner:

> "Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism, in the form of the thesis of the impossi-

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bility of building socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis of the inevitability of the degeneration of the Bolsheviks, etc.? That weapon was given it by Trotzkyism. It is not an accident that all anti-Soviet groupings in the U.S.S.R., in their attempts to give grounds for their argument for the inevitability of the struggle against the Soviet Government referred to the well-known thesis of Trotzkyism of the impossibility of building Socialist in our country, of the inevitable degeneration of the Soviet Government, of the probable return to capitalism.

"Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. its tactical weapon in the form of attempts at open attacks on the Soviet Government? This weapon was given to it by the Trotzkyites, who tried to organize anti-Soviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad on November 7, 1927. It is a fact that the anti-Soviet actions of the Trotzkyites raised the spirits of the bourgeoisie and let loose the work of counter-revolutionary sabotage of the bourgeois specialists.

"Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an organizational weapon in the form of attempts at organizing underground anti--Soviet organizations? This weapon was given to it by the Trotzkyites, who founded their own anti-Bolshevisk illegal group. It is a fact that the underground anti-Soviet work of the Trotzkyites facilitated the organized formation of the anti-Soviet groups within the U.S.S.R.

"Trotzkyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

"That is why liberalism towards Trotzkyism, even when the latter is shattered and concealed, is stupidity bordering on crime, bordering on treason to the working class."

The growth of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the growing power of the Soviet Union, its Red Army, its consistent peace policy and the weakening of the position of American capitalism, has forced the United States to recognize the Soviet Union. This is a victory, not only for the Soviet Union and its masses, but for the international working class. This victory was greeted by the leading capitalist papers of the United States with open or ill-concealed hatred. The *Chicago Tribune*, always rabidly anti-Soviet, ran all kinds of editorials against recognition of the Soviet Union on the ground that such recognition would strengthen the position of the U.S.S.R. But to the Trotskyites, the recognition of the Soviet Union is not a victory for the U.S.S.R. In the *Militant*, No. 26, 1933, they say:

"American imperalism was indubitably the victor in the negotiations which culminated in recognition by the U. S. of the Soviet Union."

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And further:

> "And back of the whole monstrous bargain lurks the sinister implication of a secret military understanding which would seek to put the American proletarian movement at the service of American imperialism."

With such monstrous slanders the American Trotzkyites are attempting to undermine the victory of the Soviet Union and of the American working class. They charge the Soviet Union with the "betrayal of the American working class for the price of recognition" and whine hypocritically: "The diplomacy of Stalin-Litvinov trades off the Comintern and the international revolution."

But these slanders are carefully covered by the Trotzkyites with stereotyped phrases to the effect that "after all, it is necessary to defend the Soviet Union." But this parade of defense of the U.S.S.R. does not change the real position of Trotsky nor hide the fact that he occupies a leading position in the vicious anti-Soviet campaign carried on by the bourgeoisie, in which Trotsky supplies the most subtle poison gas for the use of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Incidentally, but by no means accidentally, the position of Trotsky coincides with that of Mr. Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, who declares with the Trotskyites:

> "We owe it [recognition of the S. U.] also undoubtedly to the fact that Stalin has been pursuing a pacifist international policy and bothering little about 'world' revolution."

These attempts of the renegade Trotskyist group to fool the workers by means of lies and slanders to hold the insignificant number of its supporters, must fail; for even these people who have been fooled by Trotsky, who still follow him, must now see him in his true light and cannot fail to recognize that he and his group, under "Left" phrases, are attempting to draw them into the struggle against the Comintern, against the U.S.S.R., for a Second-and-a-Half International, and to lead them once more back to the folds of the Second International.

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# Lenin and the Principles of the Revolutionary Youth Movement

*By* GIL GREEN

I.

IT is no accident that the birth and development of the proletarian youth movement coincides with the period of the rise and growth of Leninism. The first international youth conference, held in Stuttgart in 1907 under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, was greatly influenced by the Russian Revolution of 1905. Nor could it have been otherwise.

The very existence of the revolutionary youth movement in the pre-war and war period depended in the first place upon an incessant struggle against the opportunism of the Second International. The Second International grew up in a period of relatively peaceful development of capitalism. Basing itself on the skilled bribed sections of labor and the petty-bourgeoisie, it emasculated the revolutionary content of the teachings of Marx and Engels and replaced them with the theory of "pure" democracy, with the conception of the peaceful transformation of capitalist society through the medium of bourgeois democracy. The proletarian youth movement, however, arose from the increased exploitation and greater political and military oppression of the young workers in an entirely different period—the epoch of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism. It was thus by its very origin and nature a revolutionary force—a force objectively leading towards Leninism.

This was very well understood by the opportunists. They feared the youth movement, for in it they correctly saw a threat to their very existence. For this reason they made frantic efforts to crush the proletarian youth movement. They tried to check Liebknecht in his anti-militarist activity. They opposed the formation of a youth international based on a special youth program and on the principle of complete organizational autonomy.

In Lenin, however, the youth movement found an ardent supporter. Understanding the revolutionary character of this movement, Lenin supported it in its struggles against the opportunists. He helped the youth movement arrive at complete ideological clarity by giving to it the basic tenets of Marxism further developed by



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his analysis of the imperialist epoch as a basis for the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution. He also revived the special teachings of Marx and Engels on the youth and developed these further, the living example of which is the program and practice of the Young Communist International and its Leninist section, the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union.

In the United States there is as yet very little understanding of the Leninist principles of the revolutionary youth movement. Not alone is this true of the Party, but also of the Young Communist League. It is of special importance at this time if we are to win the proletarian youth, to clarify the Party and League on these principles.

## II. THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG GENERATION

In a speech delivered in 1920 to the Third Congress of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, Lenin summarized the main tasks of the proletarian youth in the following words:

> "The tasks of the youth generally, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organizations particularly, may be expressed in one sentence: *The task is to acquire knowledge.*" [Our emphasis].

But Lenin viewed the question of "acquiring knowledge" differently from the bourgeoisie and its social-reformist agents. To them, education is synonymous with studying text-books. To them, education is completely divorced from the problem of daily life. They tell the youth to "study today" and "act tomorrow." Their aim is to befuddle the minds of the youth, to separate them from reality, from the problems of daily life—from the class struggle. Lenin pointed out that Communist education must be based, not on fooling the young generation, but on giving it a realistic understanding of life and struggle. This can be accomplished only by the dialectical unity between study and action, between theory and practice. At this same congress Lenin said, in dealing with this question:

> "One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left to us by the old capitalist society is the complete isolation of books from practical life. . . .
>
> "The young generation can learn Communism only by linking up each state of its studies, training and education with the unceasing struggle of the proletariat and the toilers, against the old system of exploitation."

These conclusions drawn by Lenin are based upon the earlier teachings of Marx, who in his analysis of the economic laws of

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motion of capitalist society mentioned the need for a complete change in the education of the young generation. Speaking of the effects of the factory system on the children and youth, in Volume I of *Capital*, he said:

> ". . . a great part of the children employed in modern factories and manufacturies, are from their earliest years riveted to the most simple manipulations, and exploited for years, without being taught a single sort of work that would afterward make them of use, even in the same manufactory or factory."

From this he concluded the need for the socialist reorganization of youth labor, for a combination of productive useful labor with schooling.

> "From the factory system budded, as Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the *only method* of producing fully developed human beings." [Our emphasis].

Only this dialectical approach of Marx and Lenin to the education of the young generation, can explain the whole program of the Young Communist International, and in particular our position on child labor. On this latter question there has been extreme confusion in the ranks of our Party, League, and the revolutionary trade unions. Some of the revolutionary unions have even adopted the demands of the Socialist Party and A. F. of L. for the abolition of child and youth labor under the age of 18, and the proposals of Roosevelt for its abolition under the age of 16. They cannot understand why we oppose these as reactionary demands.

This is because they see only the negative effects of the factory system upon the youth. They do not understand the difference between youth labor and youth exploitation. We are in favor of the former, but opposed to the latter. Marx, in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, clearly states this question:

> "*General prohibition* of the labor of children *is irreconcilable with the existence of large industry* and is therefore an empty, pious wish.
>
> "The introduction of the same—if possible—*would be reactionary*, since, with a rigid regulation of the working time according to the different age periods and the other precautionary measures for the protection of children, an early combining of productive labor with instruction is one of the mightiest means of the transformation of present-day society." [Our emphasis].

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It is exactly this combination of "productive labor with instruction" which forms the basis for the education of the young generation in the Soviet Union. This explains the meaning of the demand of the Young Communist League for vocational training for all youth between 14 and 16, by the creation of factory schools on the basis of full wages and trade union supervision. It also explains our demand for the complete abolition of child labor under 14 with State maintenance for those now employed.

The proposals of the reformists on child labor: (1) make no provision for the upkeep of the children, (2) continue the bourgeois separation of theory from practice.

This separation is also repeatedly expressed in the work of the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. We pose one as against the other. On the one hand, there is the tendency towards "narrow practicalism". This is expressed in the glorification of the daily practical work combined with a contempt for theory. This tendency is to be found not alone in the Y.C.L., but is a historic characteristic of the American labor movement, due to the special development of American capitalism. There is little understanding in our League of the fact that "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice" (*Lenin*), and that theory "is the guiding star which lights the path of all practical revolutionists in their daily activities and gives them direction." (*Stalin.*)

This "narrow practicalism" is fed by the wrong conception that theory arises spontaneously from the class struggle. This same idea was criticised by Lenin in *What's To Be Done,* where he points out that theory is implanted into the class struggle and further developed on the basis of this struggle, but does not arise spontaneously from it. He quotes Engels, who said: "Socialism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every science—*it must be studied.*" [Our emphasis.]

On the other hand, we have comrades who place the main emphasis on study, who believe the youth movement should not be based on struggle, who want the League to become a Social-Democratic cultural organization. While it is wrong to pose the question of which of the above two tendencies is the more dangerous for our League, it is necessary to say that due to the isolation of our League from the basic masses of young workers, this tendency finds fertile breeding grounds and thus is exceptionally dangerous.

Major errors in this direction were made by the National Committee of the League in the past year. The logical conclusion of the failure to understand that the basis of all League activity must be the daily class struggle, would be the complete negation of the Young Communist League as the leader of the toiling youth.

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It must be clear that both of these tendencies are only opposite sides of the same coin. One feeds the other. For this reason they can be eradicated only by establishing the Leninist unity between theory and action. In this connection we must remember the words of Lenin:

> "Without work, without struggle, a book knowledge of Communism gained from Communist pamphlets and books is worth nothing . . ."

### III. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PROLETARIAN YOUTH

The historical need for a revolutionary youth movement arose, as was stated previously, from the special conditions of the youth under imperialism. First, the develoment of large trustified industry resulted in an intensification of the exploitation of youth labor. Second, imperialism, as Lenin pointed out, is "the relentless struggle of the great powers for the partition and repartition of the world. It must therefore inevitably lead to further militarization in all countries . . ." It is these two questions: the struggle for the economic demands of the youth and the struggle against militarism and imperialist war, which are the special problems of the proletarian youth movement.

#### THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

The tendency of modern industry constantly to increase the proportion of unskilled labor and thus of youth and women, was already noted by Marx in the pre-imperialist era. He analyzed not only the growing role of youth in the industrial process, but also the "physical deterioration of the children and young persons" resulting from this. He called for a struggle against this deterioration and for the protection of youth and child labor from the excesses of capitalism.

It is the very first duty of the Young Communist League to lead the young workers in this struggle. Of course, we realize that as long as capitalism exists so long will there be exploitation of youth labor. But only by leading the struggle for the economic demands of the young workers can we, on the basis of their own experiences, teach the youth the need for the abolition of capitalism and the socialist reorganization of youth labor.

In the United States the labor movement has always shown a callous indifference to the special economic demands of the youth. This can be explained partly for the early period of American capitalism, when the constant demand for labor, due to the existence of the frontier, created a relatively high standard of wages, which

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in turn made somewhat difficult the increased exploitation of youth labor on the part of capital.

However, this does not explain the continuation of this neglect long after this period is over. Today, it can be explained only by the craft ideology of the reformist labor movement, and the existence of remnants of this ideology in our own ranks.

How otherwise can we explain the fact that the leadership of most of the revolutionary unions actually resist the raising of youth demands and the creation of special youth organs to struggle for these? Certainly, no one can say that there is no youth problem in industry today. The NRA industrial codes openly discriminate against "apprentices, helpers and learners". Other codes, such as the auto code, agree to pay youth less per hour than adult workers for identical work.

But to see the youth problem only as one of discrimination, is to see it narrowly. We are against discrimination of youth in industry, but we do not stop there. We also want *special* conditions for youth, corresponding to their *special* physical and mental needs. For example, in the United States one of the most important economic youth problems today is the struggle against the speed-up, which more than any other single factor is carrying through the "physical deterioration" of which Marx spoke.

Marx pointed out in his *Value, Price and Profit* the importance of struggling against the effects of the speed-up. He said:

> "By increasing the *intensity* of labor, a man may be made to expend as much vital force in one hour as he formerly did in two . . . In checking this tendency of capital . . . the working man only resists the depreciation of his labor and the deterioration of his race."

The significance of this fact has yet to be brought home to the American workers, who become prematurely aged from the inhuman "intensity" of labor. Safeguarding the youth from this speed-up is of greatest importance for their normal growth to physical and mental maturity.

## MILITARISM AND WAR

While the Second International at its congresses paid lip-service to internationalism and the struggle against militarism and war, in practice, however, they did nothing to further this struggle. Nor was this accidental. It was in keeping with their whole conception of the State and bourgeois democracy, which caused them to see the struggle against militarism only from the viewpoint of petty-bourgeois pacifism.

Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, however, led the struggle

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for true internationalism, for the revolutionary struggle against militarism and war. They saw in militarism not alone a force of bourgeois reaction, but also a necessary instrument for the overthrow of capitalism and thus the abolition of all war. They exposed capitalist militarism, but also told the proletarian youth to learn how to use arms for the class war. Lenin, in an article criticizing the slogan of "Disarmament," which appeared in an issue of the *International of Youth* during the war, appeals to proletarian women in the following words:

> "How will proletarian women react to this [growing militarism]? Will they restrict themselves to cursing all wars and everything pertaining to them and to demanding disarmament? The women of the oppressed class, really revolutionary, will never rest content with such a shameful role. They will say to their sons:
>
> " 'You will soon be grown up. You will be given rifles; take them and learn to use them. Military science is indispensible to proletarians, but not for shooting at their own brothers, or on the workers of other lands, as in the present war, and as you are advised to do by the social-traitors. You must learn how to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, so as to put an end to exploitation, poverty and wars, not by pious resolutions, but by overcoming and disarming the bourgeoisie.' "

This truly revolutionary position towards militarism is based on the teachings of Marx and Engels. Engels in his *Anti-Duhring* (English abridged translation—*Landmarks of Scientific Socialism*), written in 1877, says:

> "Militarism dominates and devours Europe. But this militarism has in it the seeds of its own destruction. The competition of the various States with each other necessitates the spending of more money every year on the army, fleet, weapons of destruction, etc., and thus accelerates financial breakdown. On the other hand, with the increasingly rigid military service, the whole people become familiar with the use of military weapons. It therefore becomes able at some time to impose its will upon the dominating military authority. And this time arrives as soon as the mass of the people—country and city workers and farmers—has the will. At this point the army of the classes becomes the army of the masses, the machine refuses to do the work, militarism goes under in the dialectic of its own development."

How true this is of today! How well it fits in to the present armament race of the imperialist powers and to the increasing attempt of the bourgeoisie to militarize the young generation.

Lenin constantly emphasized the fact that: "War is a continuation of politics by other means". He ridiculed the slogan of, "Defense of the fatherland" for the proletariat in a capitalist country. He insisted that the first test of internationalism was the struggle

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against "your own" bourgeoisie—for defeat of your own ruling class. He told the workers when war starts, to "Turn imperialist war into civil war".

Today, when the whole world is so close to another imperialist war, these teachings of Lenin and Liebknecht must especially be brought to the American young workers. We must remember the words of Lenin that imperialist war must be fought before war actually starts. Especially must we reach the youth in the armed forces, forced-labor camps and factories with our anti-war activity. In the words of Liebknecht: "Anti-militarism is the battle cry of the international youth movement today and in the future more than ever!"

## THE ORGANIZATIONAL AUTONOMY OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

In our Party the question is often asked: "Why do we need a special political youth organization?" In the mass organizations the question is asked: "Why youth sections?" These questions all flow from the failure to understand what is necessary for the Communist education of the youth. They flow from the reformist conception that the youth must at all times be kept under the wing of the adult workers and cannot be trusted to work out their own problems.

Lenin understood the special problems and psychology of the youth. He said:

> "Frequently representatives of the generation of the middle-aged and old do not know properly how to approach the youth, who, of necessity, are compelled to progress towards Socialism by other paths, in other forms and under other circumstances than did their fathers. For that reason we must unconditionally support *the organizational independence* of the Youth Leagues, not merely because the opportunists are afraid of the independence, but because it is necessary for itself; for without complete independence the youth will be unable to train themselves for the purpose of carrying Socialism further."

While standing unequivocally for the organizational independence of the youth movement, Lenin however opposed a paternalistic approach to the young workers, as practiced by the reformists. Lenin knew the youth would make mistakes; but he had implicit confidence in their finding the correct road with the aid of the older generation. He further said:

> "We must stand for the complete independence of the Youth Leagues, but we must also stand for the complete freedom to

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> criticize their mistakes in a comradely manner. *We must not flatter the youth.* [Our emphasis—G.G.]

This position of Lenin clearly explains the dialectical unity between the old and new generations and the basis for Party and League relations. The Young Communist League is organizationally independent, but at the same time subordinate to the Party. The League, because it is an organization of youth, is broader in character than the Party. The Party is the leader of the whole working class, including its youth. The Party helps and corrects the Young Communist League in its work among the proletarian youth.

* * * *

It is with this understanding that we must proceed to apply the principles of Leninism in the struggle for winning the majority of the proletarian youth for the revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism and for a Soviet America.

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# The New Deal and the Old Deal

*By* ALEX BITTELMAN

EVENTS have already confirmed the correctness of the Communist Party position on the New Deal. The events have shown that the New Deal is neither a "revolution" (Norman Thomas) nor is it merely a continuation of the old deal. It is a sharper turn of the capitalist dictatorship in the United States to war and fascism in the search for a capitalist solution of the crisis. A comparison between the Hoover and Roosevelt policies will make this clear.

## THE HOOVER DEAL

The characteristic features of the Hoover policies appear as follows:

1. A relatively open ideological defense of the interests of the monopolies on the theory that whatever helps the big capitalists is helpful to everybody. To carry out this theory in practice, Hoover was following the *method* of official and semiofficial collaboration with the heads of the monopolies and their spokesmen through conferences, commissions, etc. As to the heads of the American Federation of Labor, the defenders of capitalism among the workers, these were called in by Hoover from time to time, at crucial moments, whenever a fresh attack upon labor was being scheduled for execution.

2. The main policy towards all other classes and groups outside the monopolies was: no concessions of any kind; let the crisis, the "depression" as it is still called, take its natural course. This meant "deflating" pretty nearly everybody to protect the capital values and profits of the monopolies.

3. Hoover's old deal ignored completely the needs and demands of the workers, Negroes, toiling farmers and city petty-bourgeoisie. It suppressed mercilessly all fighting movements of the masses that were seeking relief from the unbearable burden of the crisis. The most dramatic expression of this was the break-up of the first Bonus March.

4. In the field of foreign policies, in the fight for markets and new spheres of imperialist exploitation, Hoover was operating chiefly by economic means. He was relying primarily upon the economic



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might of American capitalism, its foreign investments and the weapon of war debts, to fight its imperialist rivals.

5. The Soviet Union continued to be ignored "officially," but unofficially the old deal was pressing hard to establish United States imperialism in the position of leader in an anti-Soviet imperialist front, seeking to hamper the excution of the First Five-Year Plan and to push Japan into war against the Soviet Union.

6. In the Caribbean the Hoover policy was aiming especially to consolidate the native bourgeois-landlord groups around Yankee domination, liquidating all remnants of British imperialist influence. As for South America, the old deal had initiated a militant offensive, economic and political, against British imperialism which has already resulted in war between Bolivia and Paraguay and in a war situation between Colombia and Peru.

Upon what assumptions was this policy based? It proceeded from the assumption that the crisis would liquidate itself shortly and in the usual way. The usual way meant that, given a certain period of time, the general deflationary process (fall in prices, production, trade, etc.) would reach bottom, after which an upward development would start again. The Hoover policy also rested on the hope that the economic might of American capitalism would suffice to force France and England to make concessions to the United States (in the matter of tariffs and markets and to check Japan in China) and also to place the United States in the position of leadership in the anti-Soviet imperialist front. In the matter of the Soviet Union the Hoover policy was orientated on possible failure of the First Five-Year Plan and on war of Japan upon the Soviet Union.

All these assumptions have proved to be false, and this became evident even to Hoover in the closing year of his administration. The crisis was not liquidating itself but was becoming worse. The "usual" way did not operate in the desired direction because this was *not* just a "usual" cyclical crisis but one which is developing on the basis of the *general* crisis of world capitalism and in the epoch of the emergence of a center of a new world system—the socialist system in the Soviet Union. Deflation there was aplenty all through the imperialist and colonial world but due to the domination of the monopolies it was an uneven and one-sided deflation which was hitting primarily the workers, the toiling farmers, the Negroes, the petty-bourgeoisie and the smaller independent capitalists; the trusts, assisted by the government, would not let themselves become deflated. This tended to check the liquidation of the crisis in the most decisive sphere of economy, the production of capital goods, while the growing poverty of the masses continued to destroy the market for so-called consumers' goods.

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The Hoover policies for securing foreign markets for American goods also proved barren of results for the simple reason that the long and ever deepening crisis was destroying markets all over the imperialist and colonial world. The imperialist rivals of the United States, similarly to American imperialism, having failed to check the crisis in the "usual" way, have begun to wage open economic war (through the raising of tariffs, quotas, etc.), turning evermore in the direction of war preparation and war for a new redivision of the world as the only capitalist solution of the crisis. In the face of this situation, the economic might of United States imperialism, badly undermined by the prolonged crisis, was by itself totally inadequate to force any sort of concessions from its imperialist rivals, and Hoover's efforts to do so only sharpened the imperialist rivalries and struggles. The expansion of Japanese imperialist domination in China was not checked. The success of the First Five-Year Plan, the initiation of the Second Five-Year Plan, the consistent peace policies of the Soviet government, the growth of the revolutionary upsurge and of the support of the masses for the Soviet Union, all of which increased immeasurably the internal strength and international position of the Soviet Union, tended to frustrate the efforts of Hoover (and world imperialism) to encourage Japan to war upon the Socialist Fatherland.

The class struggle in the country was becoming sharper every day. The Hoover policy of no concessions to anybody, which was the policy of monopoly capital in the old deal, has succeeded in arousing the overwhelming majority of the population against existing conditions. The first Bonus March, just because it was composed of workers, farmers and city petty-bourgeoisie, which confronted the government in a militant and determined manner, was evidence of the fact that monopoly capital was becoming isolated and that a powerful opposition of the widest masses of toilers is rising against it. The managers of the old deal were getting a bit panicky about the situation, especially as the efforts of the Communist Party to place the workers at the head of these mass movements, giving them more cohesion and revolutionary consciousness, were not wholly without success.

### TRANSITION TO THE NEW DEAL

Monopoly capital in the United States was driven to adopt certain changes of policy because the old deal, as practiced under Hoover, had failed in its main objectives. A change became necessary, but in what direction? In the direction of preparations for a *violent* solution of the crisis by means of war and fascism. Roosevelt's new deal undertakes to incorporate this change in the policies

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of monopoly capital. What are the characteristic features of the new deal as distinguished from the old deal? They are:

1. A certain "critical" ideological attitude to the monopolies, especially the bankers, and the "discovery" of the forgotten man. Under the cover of this ideological camouflage, the new deal undertakes to provide such new agencies and methods of government as will enable monopoly capital to maintain its stranglehold upon the life of the country despite the deepening crisis and the growing revolutionary advance of the masses. This objective the new deal aims to achieve by legalizing, and thus accelerating, the further growth and domination of trusts and monopolies and by a more open (as compared with the old deal) and closer integration of the monopolies with the machinery of government itself. This is one of the angles of the so-called organization of industry that is being carried out under the N.R.A. with its codes, boards, etc.

2. Certain concessions to the rich farmers and independent capitalists but, of course, at the expense of the workers, Negroes, toiling farmers and city petty-bourgeoisie.

3. A further slash of the standard of living of the workers, Negroes, toiling farmers and city petty-bourgeoisie. For this purpose the new deal proposes to make much wider use than the old deal of the social-fascists (the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party) and of the bourgeois farmer politicians who are being incorporated into the new governmental agencies under the N.R.A., A.A.A., etc Through the provisions of the N.R.A. for trade union organization and collective bargaining and by means of the various Labor Boards the new deal aims to outlaw in fact if not always in name the right of the workers to strike and to carry on other activities for class struggle unionism. Suppression by force and violence, supplemented by demagogy, of all movements for the betterment of the conditions of the masses and especially the activities of the Communist Party has become the order of the day.

4. In the field of foreign relations the new deal signifies an intensified economic war by depreciation of the dollar, dumping, tariff manipulation, etc., and speedy preparations for war to secure markets by force of arms.

5. On the question of the Soviet Union, the new deal continues the fight to establish United States imperialism in the position of leadership in the anti-Soviet imperialist front. This position of leadership is at present occupied by British imperialism which, with the arrival of Hitler fascism in Germany, has become the chief organizer of the anti-Soviet war. This fact, together with the fur-

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ther expansion of Japanese domination in China and the deliberate provocations by Japan of war against the Soviet Union, complicates extremely the conditions under which the new deal is fighting for leadership in the anti-Soviet imperialist front. This fight becomes now more than ever intertwined with the struggle of United States imperialism against its Japanese and British rivals and this expresses itself in an elaborate set of maneuvers by United States imperialism on the field of world imperialist struggles among which is also the new deal's use of Soviet recognition as a weapon in the fight. The deepening crisis, the strength of the Soviet Union and the growing sympathies of the masses in the United States for the Soviet Union are making it ever harder for the imperialists to continue to refuse to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet government.

6. In the Caribbean the new deal was faced with its first serious test when a national revolutionary upheaval overthrew the Machado government. This powerful revolutionary upsurge is continuing to develop in the direction of an anti-imperialist agrarian revolution with the aim of establishing a worker-peasant Soviet government in Cuba. The revolutionary workers and the Communist Party are in the lead of this movement. The policy of the new deal is active intervention to reconsolidate the bourgeois-landlord groups around United States imperialism for the setting up of another Wall Street puppet government in Cuba. Powerful economic pressure, naval guns trained at the island and ready for instant action and the imminent landing of marines and troops, are the means of the new deal to accomplish its imperialist aims. And in South America the new deal is developing further the offensive initiated by Hoover, making Argentina the main field of battle, dragooning the various South American and Caribbean governments into support of United States imperialism for the maturing showdown with British imperialism as well as with Japanese imperialism in the Pacific.

What is old and what is new in the new deal?

Old is the *class basis* of the new deal, the maintenance of the domination of monopoly capital and the defense of its interests. New are some of the methods and agencies of government with which monopoly capital seeks to accomplish its aims.

Old is the class content of the main policies of the new deal which is to find a capitalist solution of the crisis at the expense of the widest masses of the toiling population. New is the sharper turn to war and fascism as the means for finding a capitalist solution of the crisis.

A comparison of the main features of the old and new deals proves conclusively that the new deal does not constitute a fundamental break and departure from the old deal. The new deal con-

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stitutes a further development of the old deal but under new conditions which are determined by the fact that all imperialist powers in various degrees have turned to the road of war and fascism in search of a capitalist way out of the crisis. This is what the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International had foreseen as following from the end of capitalist stabilization, the success of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the rise of revolutionary movements throughout the imperialist and colonial world, and revolutionary crises maturing in some of these countries. This is what the Plenum had characterized as the period of transition to a new cycle of wars and revolutions. The new deal is undertaking to carry out the capitalist end of this transition—the transition to war and fascism.

### THE POSITIONS OF COMMUNISM AND OF SOCIAL-FASCISM

The Communist Party of the United States had no difficulty in deciphering the true meaning of the new deal. Moreover, the Party and its candidate, William Z. Foster, had warned the masses during the last presidential campaign that the coming of Roosevelt will bring no real relief to them but, on the contrary, more burdens and misery. And when the new deal established itself in the government, the Communist Party spoke out honestly and frankly its opposition to it and proposed a program of struggle against it which stands today as the only way out for all oppressed and exploited in the United States.

At the Extraordinary Conference of the Communist Party (July 7-10, 1933), Comrade Browder stated the Party's position as follows

> "The New Deal represents the rapid development of bourgeois policy under the blows of the crisis, the sharpening of the class struggle at home and the imminence of a new imperialist war. The New Deal is a policy of slashing the living standards at home and fighting for markets abroad for the simple purpose of maintaining the profits of finance capital. It is a policy of brutal oppression at home and of imperialist war abroad. It represents a further sharpening and deepening of the world crisis."

In accord with this evaluation of the new deal, the Party called upon the masses to combat this new onslaught of the capitalist class in daily struggle for their economic and political demands and to prepare to carry out the revolutionary task of the present period —the transition to the proletarian revolution.

Not so the Socialist Party and the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Thomas and the late Hilquit, Green, Lewis

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and Woll were able to discover in the new deal great "opportunities" for the laboring masses and with some few "reservations" the social-fascists have entered wholeheartedly into collaboration with Roosevelt to put the new deal across.

To Norman Thomas the new deal signifies "a genuine revolution in American economic and political life". In saying this, Thomas is merely playing with words in order to justify the collaboration of the Socialist Party with the new deal. What does he mean by revolution? The plain meaning of the word is a change of state power from one class to another. Does Thomas mean to suggest that with the coming of the Roosevelt administration a new class came into power? No, Thomas never explained himself fully on this point. He merely said "revolution" in order to suggest to the masses a radical change in conditions and a change to the better. But we must ask for particulars. We want to know what fundamental changes for the betterment of the conditions of the masses does the new deal introduce? According to Thomas, the new deal lays the basis for "an immense structure of state capitalism" and Roosevelt "has carried the control of government over business to extraordinary lengths." Everything here is in superlatives: immense, extraordinary, etc. Again the purpose is obvious: confuse the masses, strengthen their illusions in the new deal so as to paralyze their struggle against the new capitalist onslaughts that are carried out under the new deal and to justify Socialist Party collaboration with Roosevelt. For as soon as Thomas begins to examine the new deal in detail, even he becomes forced to admit that by far not everything in it is so superlatively good for the workers.

What sort of government is it, from a class point of view, that is undertaking to carry control over business to "extraordinary" lengths? It is a capitalist government, we maintain, a government dominated by big business. Is this true, or not? Thomas never answered this question openly and directly but he cannot completely evade it. For isn't he the leader of a party that calls itself "Socialist"? Isn't he, therefore, interested in saying something critical about the capitalists? Of course he is, especially so since even big capitalists are "criticizing" capitalism now-a-days. Thus Thomas is forced to say that "all the logic of the act (N.R.A.) points to regulation of industry by the more powerful, under supervision of a government which they basically will control." (This as well as the other quotations from Thomas are taken from his article in the *New York Times*, June 18, 1933).

Now, examine this last statement of Thomas very carefully. He says that the business organizations that are being established in the various industries under the N.R.A. codes lead to the control of

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industry by the more powerful business groups. This can mean only one thing—control by the monopolies. He also says that the government which is supervising the N.R.A. business organizations is itself controlled by the monopolies. This means that the Roosevelt government which is supervising the N.R.A. is itself controlled by big business. But how does this jibe in with the N.R.A. being a "revolution"? And what is the big gain for the masses when a government controlled by big business undertakes to "control" big business? Isn't it like big business undertaking to control itself? What then is the great jubilation about? It is clear that Thomas got himself entangled here into a serious contradiction. But it is not the result of his faulty thinking but of his social-fascist theory and practice. It is not logic that is involved here but politics and the contradictions of Thomas resolve themselves very nicely in the social-fascist policies of himself and his party. For, if Thomas was a socialist in deeds and not alone in words, the only conclusion he would make from his own statement that the N.R.A. means control over big business by big business would be ruthless opposition to the N.R.A. and the whole new deal. But Thomas draws a different conclusion. It is that the N.R.A. "will provide the framework which may facilitate a genuine socialization of industry". This, too, deserves close examination. The meaning of it is that the N.R.A.—big business controlling big business—facilitates the road to socialism, is a step in the direction of socialism. Thus Norman Thomas, speaking in the name of the Socialist Party, gives his blessing to the sharp turn of American imperialism in the direction of war and fascism. This, as we know, is in accord with the orientation of the whole Second International.

The N.R.A. is the "framework" for "genuine" socialism. That's great. It wants to suggest that the New Deal is socialistic but not fully genuine and that the truly genuine article is held by Thomas and his party. But what does he mean by "framework"? We have known since Marx (to whom Thomas looks down condescendingly, you know) that capitalist development itself creates the material conditions for socialism, and that one of the basic contradictions of capitalism is the one between the social character of production and the private appropriation of the product of production. The concentration and centralization of capital, which led to the growth of monopolies, have helped to create the material conditions of socialism which became complete under imperialism. Shall we, therefore, conclude, following the procedure of Norman Thomas, that in order to "facilitate genuine socialization" we ought to place ourselves at the service of J. P. Morgan & Co. in the building and strengthening of monopolies? Norman Thomas and the Socialist

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Party have not yet placed themselves in the service of Morgan & Co. officially but they did place themselves in the service of a servant of Morgan & Co.—Roosevelt. But what is the difference?

To Norman Thomas it was unquestionable that "labor gets valuable concessions in the act (N.R.A.), not the least of which is the right of collective bargaining". The facts of the actual operation of the N.R.A. to date have already demonstrated that the so-called concessions of the N.R.A., celebrated by Thomas with so much gusto, are nothing else but a snare and delusion. The standard of living of the American working class is being reduced by the N.R.A., its minimum wages are becoming maximum wages; the slight increase in employment, being accompanied by the slashing or abolition of the unemployment relief, is in reality not a betterment of conditions but a worsening. It is a further spreading out of the misery which Hoover's "stagger-plan" has set afoot. And as to the collective bargaining clause of the N.R.A., it has never been more than a *paper* provision designed with a view to prevent strikes and free trade union organization, free from employers' and government control, rather than to facilitate such organization. It was designed to weaken labor's bargaining power. What do the facts show? They show the following: (1) whatever improvement in conditions the workers have secured since the "inauguration" of the new deal, they have accomplished by the power of their own organization, by their willingness to fight militantly, to make sacrifices, including the sacrifice of their lives; (2) in all these struggles the workers are meeting the sometimes open and sometimes covered opposition and sabotage of the N.R.A. which consistently aims to break up the workers' struggles in order to weaken the workers in the so-called collective bargaining under N.R.A. auspices; (3) wherever the N.R.A. codes embody conditions that are more or less acceptable to the workers, the "contribution" of the N.R.A. is merely that of *formal ratification* of what the organized might of the workers was able to force out of the employers and the N.R.A. and which the workers could have gotten with less difficulty without the N.R.A.

The right of collective bargaining and the N.R.A.—isn't it a fact that wherever the workers had no organization or weak organization, such as in the automobile industry—the N.R.A. incorporated into the codes provisions that nullify completely the right of collective bargaining, such as the "individual merit" clause? And isn't it also a fact that only where the workers had organizations and were able to break through the treacherous machinations of the A. F. of L. reformist leadership and that of the Socialist Party the employers and the N.R.A. were forced, after long and bitter strug-

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gle, to accede to the workers the right of collective bargaining in deed and not alone on paper?

The N. R. A. "era" already has numerous victims; killed, wounded and jailed. But who are these victims? Is there a single capitalist among them? Tell us, Mr. Thomas, do you know of any capitalists or agents of the government killed, wounded or in jail for violating the right of the workers to strike and to collective bargaining which, according to you, was granted to the workers by the N.R.A.? But you do know, you must know, of the numerous cases of workers having been killed, wounded and jailed in the struggle for collective bargaining and other conditions of labor which the N.R.A. supposedly guarantees to the workers. This being the case, how shall we understand Thomas' assertion that "labor gets valuable concessions in the act, not the least of which is the right of collective bargaining"? This can be understood only in one way. It is an effort to deceive the workers and to disarm them so that the capitalists, through the N.R.A. and the government as a whole, may proceed without hindrance to build up not only the "framework" but the whole structure of fascism at home and war abroad.

Thomas and the Socialist Party may try to fall back on some of the "reservations" which they made to the N.R.A. and to some of the "warnings" which they have issued. But what were these? Thomas said that "if any of the labor provisions (of the N.R.A.) had been weakened, or if the administration of them should become unfriendly, we should have a completely servile state". Thomas puts here under a question mark ("if") the "friendliness" of the N.R.A. administration to labor. But why the question mark? Wasn't it very clear from the outset that the N.R.A. will be not only unfriendly but positively hostile and actively in opposition to labor? And since the N.R.A. is part of the capitalist government of the United States, this meant that all the resources of oppression and suppression that this state possesses will in the course of time be employed against the workers, that is, that the administration of the labor provisions of the N.R.A. will be "unfriendly" (what a characteristic word for a social-fascist) to labor. And didn't Thomas, in the same article which we discuss here, indicate that the N.R.A. will be "under supervision of a government which they (the more powerful business interests) basically will control". Then how could one doubt that a government controlled by the trusts will be anything but "unfriendly" to labor? We ask again: why the "if"?

Another "reservation" of Thomas' is expressed in the form of a "hope". He says: "What is to be hoped is that labor will use its position to press on toward social ownership and management for use and not for profit". What position is it that the N.R.A. is

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giving to labor that labor did not have before? Evidently, according to Thomas, it is the "framework" of the N.R.A. machinery in which labor is also represented through the leaders of the A. F. of L. But this machinery Thomas himself was forced to characterize as being dominated by big business, and the government which is supervising this machinery is also dominated by big business. And as to the A. F. of L. leaders on the N.R.A., Thomas is again forced to say that "what is to be feared is that many unions, in line with the dominant A. F. of L. policy, will be content to be little more than company unions to the new capitalist state, only a few degrees freer than the state-controlled unions in Italy or Germany". Then what becomes of the "positions" of labor in the N.R.A.? Obviously, not an instrument facilitating labor's pressing forward to socialism but, on the contrary, a weapon in the hands of the capitalists and their lieutenants in the labor movement to impede the struggles of the workers against capitalism and to crush these struggles by force of arms. And this is precisely what the N.R.A. is doing with the blessing and assistance of Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party.

### THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF FASCISM

To cover up this crime before the working class, Thomas talks a good deal about the menace of fascism in the United States. The machinery of the N.R.A., which at first he greets as something that provides the "framework" for genuine socialization, he next characterizes as something that may lay the basis for the "economics of fascism". Thus, according to Thomas, the N.R.A. may be developed either toward socialism or toward fascism. It is therefore very important to know what it is about the N.R.A. that endows it with the capability of bringing about such diverse results. The "it" in the N.R.A., it seems, are the features of "state capitalism". The N.R.A., says Thomas, has laid the foundation "for an immense structure of state capitalism" upon which socialism may be erected, if the workers press hard enough for it, or fascism, if the workers do not. In this latter case, the "framework" of socialism will become the framework, the "economics" of fascism. And, he adds, "we shall not long have the economics of fascism without a considerable dose of its politics".

It is positively fraudulent to say that the N.R.A. lays the basis for "an immense structure" of state capitalism. There are tendencies inherent in imperialism, working towards the development of state capitalist *forms* and the N.R.A. is partly a reflection of these tendencies and a means for facilitating their further development. Abstractly speaking it would be possible to visualize a situation where all the various monopolies become merged into one "immense"

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monopoly which, in its turn, becomes merged with the state, thus producing "an immense structure of state capitalism". But in order to arrive at such a vision one must completely ignore all the other forces that are operating in imperialism at the present time. One must ignore the fact that under the N.R.A. the competition and rivalries between the various monopolies are becoming stronger not weaker, that the struggle between the monopolies and the independent and smaller captalists is also growing sharper, and that the concentration and centralization of capital (immensely speeded up by the crisis), which abstractly may lead to one big trust merged with the state, is in reality not eliminating competition and rivalry but makes them sharper, is not unifying capitalist economy but is increasing the chaos and disorganization. One must ignore the still more important fact that the growth of monopolies and their integration with the state brings the proletariat and the toiling farmers into the sharpest collisions with the capitalist state power, raises every important struggle of the masses for their partial demands into a big political fight against the capitalist class as a whole which furthers the revolutionary advance of the masses and furthers the disintegration of capitalism. For one must remember that monopoly finance capital resorts to forms of state capitalism (far from any "immense structures") not in order to conciliate the masses at home and its rivals abroad but for the diametrically contrary purpose of increasing the exploitation of the masses, for the strengthening of the arm of the capitalist state, for the more brutal suppression of the masses and their struggles, and for an intensified struggle for foreign markets and the mobilization of industry for war purposes. To say in the face of these facts, as Thomas does, that the N.R.A. lays the basis for "an immense structure of state captalism", which "may correct some of the chaos of the present" and which offers valuable concessions to the workers, is to sacrifice the actual living interests of the workers to a social-fascist utopia which undertakes to cover up the advance of American imperialism towards fascism and war.

It may be argued that since Thomas himself points out the fascist implications of the N.R.A., he cannot be accused of covering up its fascist developments. To this the answer is that on the question of the fascist implications of the N.R.A. Thomas again is misleading. He speaks of the "economics of fascism" as a sort of state capitalism which he characterizes as a basically different economic system from what he calls the "old" capitalism. It is on these grounds that he considers the new deal and the N.R.A. a "revolution". But what is the truth? It is, first, that the "economics" of fascism are not state capitalism, neither of one sort nor of another; secondly,

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that the adoption by monopoly capital of certain forms of state capitalism creates no new economic system but undertakes to strengthen the existing capitalist state to facilitate the imperialist struggle for markets and colonies, its war preparations and the more intensified attack upon the toiling masses and in the first instance upon the working class. Where is the "state capitalism" in fascist Italy or Germany? It simply isn't there. And if by "economics of fascism" is meant economic policy and not system, then the economics of fascist Germany and Italy differ from the economics of the so-called democratic capitalist countries in this, that in the former monopoly finance capital dictates the economic and political actions by the government more openly and more freely than in the latter. Neither in Italy nor in Germany have the industries become nationalized even in a bourgeois sense. The policies of fascism in these countries have not decreased the chaos of capitalist economics but, on the contrary, the chaos became deeper. And the various new governmental agencies created by fascism ("corporations" in Italy, economic boards and commissions in Germany, etc.) are nothing else but additional weapons in the hands of monopoly capital to dictate more openly its will to the toiling masses, to facilitate the civil war of capitalism against the toiling masses and to prepare for imperialist war and anti-Soviet intervention.

Here is what Thomas aims to accomplish with his "theories" of fascist economics and state capitalism. First, he asserts that the economics of fascism is a sort of state capitalism; then he says that state capitalism is the economic basis of socialism; hence, the economics of fascism and socialism are, by and large, the same thing. This is the "theory". Now translate this into terms of practical policies and what do you get? You get the acceptance of fascism as a "stage" towards socialism. You get a beautified fascism, one that no longer looks menacing to the workers but, on the contrary, takes on the appearance, under the benevolent hands of Thomas, of a sort of bridge to the socialist commonwealth. Is this a struggle against the danger of fascism in the United States? Not at all. It is a policy of disarming the working masses in the face of the indisputable fascist developments of the N.R.A., of making it easier for Roosevelt and the monopolies to put it across, a policy that paves the way for fascism in the United States.

This conclusion cannot be changed by Thomas's trick of separating the economics of fascism from its politics. It is by means of this trick that Thomas and the Socialist Party expect to pose before the masses as "critics" of the N.R.A., as "anti-fascists", while giving full practical support to the N.R.A. and its developments to fascism and war. We have known, since Marx and Lenin, that eco-

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nomics is the basis of politics and that politics is concentrated economics. This shows itself very clearly also in the relations between the economics and politics of fascism. What is the central fact in the politics of fascism? Obviously, it is the open way in which monopoly capital exercises its dictatorship as distinct from the covered way in which the same thing is taking place under the bourgeois democracy; it is the method of ruthless violence and civil war that fascism applies to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the toiling masses and to suppress the revolutionary movements of the masses and especially of the working class; it is finally the intensive methods of war preparations and war against the Soviet Union. Herein are contained in concentrated form the economics of fascism which are the economics of monopoly capital. The economic policies of fascism are designed to save the profits and capital values of the monopolies at all costs and primarily by a widespread and merciless slashing of the standard of living of the exploited masses at home and by open economic warfare against the imperialist rivals (tariff walls, quotas, currency manipulations, dumping, etc.) preparatory to war for a redivision of the world. Monopoly capital employs the methods of open dictatorship—fascism—to put into effect these economic policies because the previous methods of finding a capitalist solution of the crisis, by economic means and through the framework of bourgeois democracy, have failed and the revolutionary movement in the imperialist and colonial countries is growing. The much advertised economic panacea of fascism, the so-called "autarchy" or national economic self-sufficiency, far from establishing a closed-up and self-sufficient bourgeois State, is nothing else but a weapon of economic warfare against imperialist rivals to protect the home market for the monopolies, to strengthen them for the struggle for foreign markets and colonies, and to mobilize the industrial resources of the country for war. This shows that the economics and politics of fascism go hand in hand, one serving the other, and that the specific function of fascism is to try to find a capitalist solution of the crisis by political and violent means.

In the new deal and in the N.R.A. we have a sharp turn of American imperialism towards fascism and war. The economic and political policies of the new deal are closely interwoven. There is no mechanical separation between them and the dominant aspect of the new deal is precisely its politics, that is, the fascization of the methods of government of American imperialism, the closer integration of monopoly capital with the government, the sharpening political reaction and the growing application of violence to protect the interests of monopoly capital. The actual course of the class struggle in the U. S. since the inauguration of the N.R.A. and

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A.A.A. is the best proof of our contention that the economics and politics of the new deal are organically connected and in such a way that its politics are predominant. Every economic struggle of the workers at present is at the same time a struggle against the N.R.A. and the government. And every economic struggle of the toiling farmers is at the same time a struggle against the A.A.A. and the government. The wide masses that take part in these struggles do not as yet fully understand this fact and in many instances are fighting the N.R.A. under N.R.A. banners. That is why the Communist Party has set before itself as one of its most important tasks the exposure of the N.R.A. as a move towards fascism and war. And it is quite clear that the more successfully the Communist work proceeds, the more consciously will the masses fight simultaneously the economics and politics of the new deal, the more formidable will become the resistance of the masses to the new deal and the higher will rise the revolutionary advance.

But Thomas and the Socialist Party are aiming to check the revolutionary advance. They help Roosevelt and Johnson to demoralize the economic struggles of the workers and above all to prevent these struggles from assuming a conscious political character. To achieve this aim, Thomas has set up the theory that the N.R.A. is still free from the "politics of fascism", that is, that the N.R.A. does not constitute a fascization of the methods of rule of American imperialism. Consequently, any hesitation to expose and fight against the N.R.A. as a turn of American imperialism to fascism and war constitutes in practice the acceptance of the social-fascist theories and practices of Thomas and the Socialist Party.

This does not mean that the political struggle against the N.R.A. calls for a belittling or minimizing of the crucial importance of the economic demands of the workers. On the contrary. The economic demands of the workers are basic for the development of the counter-offensive against the new deal. Any slighting of these demands of the workers will play directly into the hands of Roosevelt, Thomas & Co. The peculiar characteristic of the economic struggles of the workers at the present time lies in this, that since the workers are at once confronted with the N.R.A. and the government, their struggles immediately assume a political character. Consequently, the more conscious the workers are of this fact the more successfully will they be able to combat the N.R.A., the more effective will be their fight for the economic demands, the higher will rise the proletarian counter-offensive.

The position of Thomas and the Socialist Party on the N.R.A. is in essence the same as that of the social-fascist leaders of the American Federation of Labor. Only some of the theories of the

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latter are openly fascist and largely free from "Socialist" phraseology. To William Green "the Industrial Recovery Act marks a recognition of the fact that industry is essentially a partnership which can function effectively only when it serves the welfare of investors of capital and producing workers". In the N.R.A. he sees "the beginnings of a real partnership in industry with the government, in the interests of the nation, sitting in to supervise and direct". This is openly fascist theory. Hitler's "totalitarian" state and Mussolini's "corporate" state find their theoretical justification in precisely the theory which Green expounds on the N.R.A. And the strict notice which General Johnson has served on the Fifty-third Convention of the A. F. of L. about no strikes under the new deal and government supervision of the unions follows directly from Green's theory of "partnership in industry under government supervision". There is no need here to prove that Green's theory of "partnership" is nothing else but fascist demagogy and this must be patiently and persistently pointed out to the masses on the basis of their experiences with the N.R.A. It is clear that by this and similar theories Green & Co., supported by Thomas and the Socialist Party, are supplying the "ideological" justification for the killing, maiming and jailing of striking workers, for the fascization of the trade unions and for the preparation of the new world slaughter.

Green sees in the N.R.A. the beginnings of a "real" partnership in industry between capital and labor with the government supervising it. Thomas sees in the N.R.A. the "foundations" for an "immense structure of state capitalism" with government control over business carried to "extraordinary lengths" which will "provide the framework for genuine socialization of industry". Is there any difference between the two? Only in words; the substance is the same. True, Green does not point to any dangers of fascism in the N.R.A., while Thomas does, but the way Thomas does it is such as to free fascism and the N.R.A. from everything that may appear to the masses as menacing to their interests. Thus also on this score Thomas and Green appear to be even.

Green and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy are an integral part of the N.R.A. machinery and are openly working for it. Thomas and the Socialist Party as a party are not yet in the apparatus of the N.R.A. Does that make the position of the Socialist Party fundamentally different from that of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy? No, it doesn't. For, regardless of whether the Socialist Party is represented on the N.R.A. boards (and it may yet be), it cooperates and collaborates "wholeheartedly" with the new deal and the N.R.A. The Socialist Party bureaucrats in the trade unions, the same as Green & Co., are part of the N.R.A. machinery in accord with their

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party program and policies on the new deal. The fact that the Socialist Party is not officially represented (not yet) on the N.R.A. boards does not at all weaken its collaboration with the new deal. It only enables them—the S. P.—to shift responsibility for the N.R.A. in the eyes of those workers who cannot see through this maneuver. Hence the necessity of exposing this trick of the S. P. and of showing to the masses that the Socialist Party bears full responsibility for the N.R.A. and its activities.

### MONOPOLY CAPITAL AND THE A. F. OF L. BUREAUCRACY

Monopoly capital has assigned to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy a very important role in the N.R.A. It is to demoralize the fighting front of the workers from within, to make the trade unions an organ of fascist oppression, in order that the capitalists may proceed more easily with the new attack upon workers' standards and with the preparations for war. The fascization of the trade unions is one of the most important assignments of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the N.R.A. and this is the sole meaning of Green's theory of "partnership" in industry under government direction. This, however, does not mean that every employer of labor, whether monopoly or so-called independent, will welcome A. F. of L. unions everywhere and under all conditions. We can see already, from the actual course of the class struggle during the new deal, that wherever employers of labor feel strong enough for the moment to impose their will upon the workers without the aid of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, there the employers resist strenuously the coming in of the A. F. of L. unions, preferring to handle the workers through outright company unions. In such cases, as, for instance, in the "captive" coal mines of the Steel Companies or in the steel industry itself, or in the automobile industry, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy fully agrees with the employers and is only trying to get for itself some form of "check-off" (compulsory collection of union dues from the workers by the employers). The "check-off" in these cases, as we know, has nothing to do with real recognition of the union, and the workers so understand it. All it means is that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats agree to support the company union in the respective enterprises and to help fight the coming in of revolutionary oppositions or the unions of the T.U.U.L. and for this the employers agree to compel the workers to pay dues to the A. F. of L. union. But where the workers are on the move, striking or ready to strike for better conditions and for true recognition of their unions, wherever such movements are led by rank-and-file fighters of A. F. of L. local unions but especially where the leadership is in the hands of revolutionary oppositions or of

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T.U.U.L. unions, the employers quite readily accept and "recognize" the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. In all such cases, the "recognition" is granted to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as a means of either forestalling or actually breaking a successful mass movement of the workers which "threatens" to achieve much better conditions of labor and union recognition than is "won" by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in the N.R.A. Here "recognition" is granted to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as a means and condition for checking the development of revolutionary oppositions and unions of the T.U.U.L. But *in all cases*, in one form or another, whether through company union alone, or company union plus "check-off", or recognized A. F. of L. unions, the Green-Lewis bureaucracy works towards the same end: the fascization of the trade unions.

But it would be an error to simplify this into meaning that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy will everywhere and always appear *openly* and directly as agents of the employers and strikebreakers. As is well known, the Lewis-Green outfit are past masters of deceit and treachery and, since their main role is that of supporters of the new deal within the working class, they will continue to resort to all sorts of demagogy and trickery to work for the fascization of the unions without appearing too openly in this capacity as long as they can help it. Hence, the task is to make the masses see through all the social-fascist tricks, deceptions and maneuvers the real fascist face and for this the primary condition is the widest development of mass struggles and the raising of these struggles to higher political levels.

Green's boastful declaration that there is no room in the U. S. for any other labor movement but that of the A. F. of L. is, on the one hand, a fresh pledge to monopoly capital to stand by capitalism through thick and thin and, on the other hand, a threat of war to the oppositional and revolutionary elements in the labor movement. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy knows that it must prove daily to its masters—the capitalists—that only it is able to serve effectively as a bulwark against the revolutionary advance because otherwise "recognition" will not be forthcoming as readily as the bureaucracy desires it. And the main test for the ability of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to do the job assigned to it by monopoly capital is the ability of the Green-Lewis outfit to check and suppress the growth of revolutionary opposition in the A. F. of L. unions and the growth of the unions of the T.U.U.L. Hence, Green's slogan of "no other labor movement but the A. F. of L.". This is the slogan of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy for the fascization of the trade unions.

(*To be continued.*)

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# Lenin and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

*By* J. MINDEL

THE foundation of Marx's teachings is that capitalist society is definitely split into two main classes—the capitalist class and the working class—and that the class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The cause of the antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class is based on the monopoly of the means of production by a small minority. With the growth of capital and monopoly, production itself takes on a social form, while appropriation remains private.

This condition cannot be changed within the framework of capitalist society. To change this, Marx says, the proletarians must organize themselves into a class, overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist society, where the means of production, mines, mills, the soil, etc., will be the property of the working and toiling masses. The results of production will not go to a few individuals, to be squandered for luxuries and accumulated as capital to be used for further exploitation of the workers. Production will be carried on for the benefit of all working members of society, and accumulation used for furthering production and improving the conditions of the workers. This has already been established on one-sixth of the world's surface, the U.S.S.R.

The change from capitalism to socialism cannot come by peaceful means. The capitalist class will not give up its privileges. No class, Lenin says, wants to die and disappear voluntarily. Capitalism will not fall by itself, it has to be overthrown.

Capitalism created for itself the power—the State—by means of which it holds the working class and the toiling masses. "The State is nothing else but a machine for the suppression of one class by another."—(*Lenin*).

The capitalist State serves only the interests of the capitalist class and keeps in subjugation the exploited classes. The proletariat cannot free itself without first destroying the capitalist State and creating a proletarian State—the dictatorship of the proletariat—the Soviet power of the workers and poor farmers. Marx, in a



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letter to his friend Weydemeyer, dated March 5th, 1852, wrote:

> "As far as I am concerned, the honour does not belong to me for having discovered the existence either of classes in modern society or of the struggles between the classes. Bourgeois historians a long time before me expounded the historical development of this class struggle, and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of classes. What was new on my part, was to prove the following: (1) that the existence of classes is connected only with certain historical struggles which arise out of the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is itself only a transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."

The theoreticians and leaders of the Second International denied the essence of Marx's teaching—the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat—and hid, as far as they could, the writings of Marx and Engels on this question.

Lenin unearthed and brought to light everything of importance on this question. In his *State and Revolution* and other writings, he proves that the opportunism and betrayal by the Second International of the proletarian revolution rests precisely on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin, in his *State and Revolution*, analyzing Kautsky's attitude toward the State, shows that Kautsky's opportunism was at the beginning on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the struggle against the opportunism of Bernstein, who denied the essence of Marx's teachings, who tried to divert the struggle of the working class against capitalism into class-collaboration channels of reformism, and who attacked Marx's teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat, Kautsky half conceded all of Bernstein's statements. In the period of the Second International—1889-1914—Kautsky avoided the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and referred to the proletarian revolution as something which would take place in the far future. This inevitably led, in the critical period of imperialist war and the proletarian revolutions which took place during and after the war, to Kautsky's desertion of the class struggle to become an agent of the capitalist class in the ranks of the working class.

From the beginning of his activities, Lenin waged a relentless struggle against all deviations and opportunist perversions of the teachings of Marx and Engels. The struggle for the program of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and the active participation of Lenin in the working out of the program, resulted in the inclusion of the formulation that the class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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This was the only Party which had this formulation in its program. All other parties, including the Social-Democratic party in Germany, avoided the question. It is therefore no accident that the opportunist elements had the upper hand in the Second International and that during the crisis, as a result of the imperialist war, the Socialist parties went to the assistance of their national governments. They substituted class-collaboration for the revolutionary class struggle, nationalism for internationalism, reform for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The leaders of the Socialist Labor Party, aping Kautsky, state in their preface to the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, republished by them in 1922, that Marx (*in the Critique*) "refers to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat offhand and incidentally and that the 'Dictatorship is merely pulled in'". Let the reader judge for himself. In section four of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx states:

> "Between capitalist and Communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation from one to the other. There corresponds also to this a political transition period during which the State can be nothing else than the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*"

The Socialist Labor Party denies the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by denying the transition period from capitalism to Communism, and claims that "the transition period mentioned by Marx and Engels is not only unnecessary but it is even impossible in reason, to conceive of it." "The fact of super-developed capitalist production renders meaningless all talk of a transition period." (*Arnold Petersen.*)*

This statement implies that immediately after the defeat of capitalism all class differences disappear, all differences within the working class, resulting from the division of mental and physical labor created under capitalism, are immediately abolished, and that since there are no class differences, no State is necessary to suppress the bourgeoisie.

Time and time again Marx and Lenin stated that Communism is the highest stage of Socialism, when classes are abolished and differences within the working class are eliminated, when no coercion or suppression is necessary and the State dies out. No matter what development a certain sector of capitalism has reached, it could not, immediately after its destruction, enter into the Communist phase. The transition period from the lower stage of

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* *Proletarian Democracy vs. Dictatorships and Despotism.*

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Communism or Socialism to its highest phase "corresponds to the Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

> "The State is . . . at best an evil inherited by the proletariat, after its victorious struggle for class supremacy whose worst sides the proletariat, just like the Commune, will have at the earliest possible moment to lop off, until such time as a new generation, reared under new and free social conditions, will be able to throw on the scrap-heap all the useless lumber of the State." (Engels—*Introduction to Civil War in France.*)

The Socialist Labor Party wants to appear revolutionary and substitutes the industrial union for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

> "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Lenin states—"is a resolute, persistent struggle, sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of the millions and tens of millions is a formidable force. Without an iron party, hardened in fight, without a party possessing the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of observing the disposition of the masses and of influencing them, the conduct of such a struggle is impossible." (*"Left" Communism*, p. 26.)

The Party, to carry on a successful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, must base itself on the trade unions and revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat. Only the Communist Party, well disciplined and welded together, can lead the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the transformation of capitalism into Communism.

> "Capitalism inevitably leaves, as an inheritance to Socialism, on the one hand, old professional and craft differences created among the workers in the course of centuries; and on the other, Trade Unions, which only very slowly, and in the course of years, can and will develop into broader industrial rather than craft organizations (embracing whole industries and not merely crafts, trades and professions). These industrial unions will, in their turn, lead to the abolition of division of labor between people, to the education, training and preparation of workers who will be able to do *everything*. Communism is moving in this direction, it must move and arrive at that goal, but only after a great many years. To attempt in practice today, to precipitate development of this characteristic of a thoroughly developed, stable and completely matured Communism would be like trying to make a four-year-old girl a mother. At best, it would be a silly joke, a foolish trick—at its worst, an abuse of, and sordid crime against nature." (Lenin—*"Left" Communism*, p. 31.)

The Soviet form of the proletarian dictatorship was evolved by Lenin on the basis of the experiences of the Paris Commune and the Revolutions of 1905 and March, 1917, in Russia.

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The Soviet form is not peculiar to one country. The dictatorship of the proletariat assumes the Soviet form in capitalist countries, as well as in colonial countries. This is manifested by the Chinese Revolution and the growing Soviets in China. It was also manifested by the revolution in Germany in 1918, where workers organized their Soviets in the factories, mills and mines. Only the treachery of Noske, Scheidemann, Kautsky, etc., drowned in blood the proletarian revolution in Germany and also defeated the expression of the revolution—the Soviets.

Our own domestic social-fascists, to justify their reformism and treachery to the working class, are willing to concede the dictatorship of the proletariat for a backward capitalist country in Europe but deny its necessity for the United States. They say:

> "Conditions may arise in Europe (especially in the industrially backward countries) which might make this 'dictatorship' inevitable, or at least the proper thing. Here in the United States, it is out of place, and would, in fact, become a hindrance, an encumbrance to the *orderly progress* [emphasis ours] of the revolution." (*Preface to the Critique of the Gotha Programme*—published by the Socialist Labor Party.)

First, the Socialist Labor Party, which claims to be "revolutionary", repeats in a different way the generalities of the socialists who state "Socialists believe that the class conflict does not rule out democracy, especially in a country which, like America, has a tradition for democracy."—(*Norman Thomas*). "Democracy (bourgeois) offers far better prospects for Socialists in West Europe than in America."—(*Kautsky*.)

"Democracy" is only democracy for the ruling class—bourgeois democracy is democracy for the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie uses the democratic forms as the better method, at certain historical stages, to oppress the working class. Through the control of the press, hall, radio, movies, through police restrictions, through the control of the army and judiciary, it prevents the working class from uniting, organizing and leading successful struggles for its own interests.

The bourgeoisie accomplishes this either by open attacks and terror against the working class, as under fascism in Germany, or in a combination of open and democratic demagogy as practiced at present, through the N.R.A., in the United States.

In the struggles of the working class, especially in the crisis of capitalism, the Socialist leaders inevitably side with the capitalist class, attacking and seeking to defeat the revolutionary struggles of the working class, and the organizer and leader of these struggles, the Communist Party. The social-fascists lead the counter-revolutionary and interventionist attacks on the Soviet Union.

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The Soviets are the realization of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are the embodiment of the struggle of Lenin and the Bolsheviks for the true realization of revolutionary Marxism, of democracy for the vast majority.

Second, in exempting imperialist America from the laws of the class-struggle, the American social-fascists are treading in the footsteps of their European brothers. The German social-fascists, while preaching a "peaceful and democratic" solution of the class struggle, made war against the working class, persecuted and terrorized its revolutionary section—thus preparing the ground for fascism.

The American social-fascists insist that democracy in America will yet expand and that a peaceful transition to the "industrial commonwealth" is coming. America today is imperialist America, where monopoly and finance capital predominate, and the all-powerful combines are closely interwoven with the State. No matter what government is in power, the Republicans or Democrats, the same influences, the same interests, the same objectives, direct its policies. The main object of the government is to save big capital, to defend the interest of finance capital.

Lenin analyzed imperialism as the last stage of capitalism and proved that under imperialism the contradictions of capitalism develop to their fullest extent, and militarism and bureaucracy grow.

> "Both England and America"—Lenin states—"the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have today plunged headlong into the all-European dirty, blood morass of military bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything under foot. Today, both in England and in America, the 'precondition' of any real people's revolution is the *break-up, the shattering* of the 'ready-made State machinery' (brought in those countries, betwen 1914-1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)." (*State and Revolution.*)

Since Lenin wrote these words, militarism and bureaucracy in the United States have been brought to greater completeness.

The attacks upon working farmers and the Negro people are intensified with the advance of the N.R.A. State funds are used for subsidies to finance-capital and the burden of the crisis is shifted to the working class and poor farmers. Militant struggles of the workers and farmers are brutally suppressed. Militarization of industry and labor and war preparations proceed with greater speed under the Roosevelt administration.

This is carried out under a smoke-screen of demagogic phrases

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about the unity of the interests of the working class and of the capitalist class. This demagogy is a weapon in the hands of finance-capital to pacify the petty-bourgeoisie and win a portion of the working class for the support of decaying capitalism. These are the weapons of fascism and social-fascism. These tendencies of fascism are on the increase. The socialist leader, Norman Thomas, sings pæans to the N.R.A. and the Roosevelt program of fascization:

> "A nation which had persisted in a touching faith in *laissez-faire* economics and rugged individualism long after they were sick unto death, had suddenly gone in for an immense degree of collective control through government. The change constituted nothing less than a genuine revolution." (*A Socialist Looks at the New Deal.*)

Mr. Thomas sees in the N.R.A. not only an advance of democracy but the beginning of the destruction of capitalism. Of what service would Mr. Thomas be to the capitalist class if he should talk otherwise? His arguments come easily to him, as his mental food is prepared for him by his social-fascist brethren in Germany and elsewhere. Mr. Thomas' friends to the "left", the C.P.L.A. (Musteites) chide the socialists for the role they play in the United States: "But this does not mean that we [the C.P.L.A.] want to spend energy in fighting the socialists instead of the bosses."*

The C.P.L.A. claims that it is "a revolutionary vanguard organization of and for the workers of the United States." It is willing to "fight" the bosses, but not the agents of the capitalist class in the ranks of the working class—the leaders of the Socialist Party. If the C.P.L.A. is so revolutionary, why such a touching friendship to renegades and betrayers of the interests of the working class? The Musteites are even willing "to overthrow capitalism *when it is weak.*" (emphasis ours.)

The weakness of capitalism by itself does not insure its downfall. There is no situation in which capitalism is helpless; it will not break down automatically. To defeat capitalism, the revolutionary classes have to carry on "revolutionary mass actions strong enough to break (or to undermine) the old government, it being the rule that never, not even in a period of crisis, does a government 'fall' of itself without being 'helped to fall' ".

Further, Lenin states:

> "In order to win the victory over capitalism there must be a proper relationship between the leading party, the Communist Party, the revolutionary class, the proletariat, on the one hand, and the mass, the totality of those who labor and are exploited, on the other. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the revolutionary

* (*C.P.L.A.: Program—Policies.*)

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> class, consisting of fully class-conscious and devoted Communists who have been enlightened and steeled by their experience in the stubborn revolutionary struggle, inseparably connected with the whole life of the working class and through this class linked up with the wider mass of the exploited, enjoying the full confidence of one and all of these—only the Communist Party, if it fulfills all the before-mentioned conditions, is competent to lead the proletariat in the last, the ruthless, the decisive campaign against the united forces of capitalism."

The leaders of the C.P.L.A. are but twin brothers to the social-fascists. In this period of sharpening class battles, they can better operate and divert the revolutionary struggles of the workers and poor farmers into reformist channels by the use of revolutionary phrases. Their program leads back to the Socialist Party and to the betrayal of the working class.

This is already manifested by the vigor with which they attack the Communist Party and the Communist International. "No party which is essentially a committee from abroad"—they say—"can lead the struggles of the American working class."

This rusty and rotten armor the Musteites borrowed from the arsenal of Messrs. Hillquit, Woll, Fish & Easley. Their theoretical baggage does not afford them even the invention of new insinuations, and in their poverty they pick up the old battle cry of the bourgeoisie. In the mouths of the Musteites, and all enemies of the working class, it is a cry against a revolutionary program, revolutionary mass action and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Following the teachings of Lenin, the workers and toiling masses of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin—the Bolshevik Party—are forging ahead. They have done away wtih the exploiters—the capitalists—by doing away with the capitalist class. They have done away with crisis, unemployment, misery and starvation. They are building up the country and are establishing a class society. They are hammering out a new and higher culture built on the collective effort of all the nations forming the Soviet Union.

The American working class and the workers of the world can win only on condition that their program and tactics are based on the teachings of Lenin.

The program and tactics of the American workers is summarised by Lenin in his letter to the American workers:

> "The workers move slowly but persistently toward Communist, Bolshevik tactics, toward a proletarian revolution, which alone can save from destruction, culture and humanity."

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# Lenin on Agitation and Propaganda, and the Tasks of the Communist Party

*By* A. MARKOFF

AGITATION and propaganda constitute a very essential part of the daily activities of the Communist Party. Through our press, at mass meetings, demonstrations; by means of slogans, lectures, discussions, study circles, classes; through our cultural activities, we endeavor to reach the broad masses of workers and other sections of the toiling population, as well as the intellectual strata. Our aim is to educate the masses politically on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teachings, to draw them closer to the revolutionary movement of the working class, to bring many of them into the ranks of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, into the ranks of the revolutionary unions, into the opposition groups within the reformist unions, into the various mass organizations. In short, to organize the masses, to bring them ideologically and organizationally under the influence of the Party, to lead them to proletarian victory over the capitalist forces. It is therefore essential that we perfect our instruments of agitation and propaganda, that we examine our shortcomings and correct them.

Many of our lecturers do not prepare sufficiently for the topic they are to talk on. Whether this is due to lack of time or other reasons does not alter the situation. The result is that the audience is not inspired with confidence in the speaker, the speech becomes dry, uninteresting, and not convincing. The first prerequisite of a successful speech or lecture is that the speaker must himself be thoroughly convinced, must thoroughly understand the topic he is dealing with. The frequent use of stereotyped phrases (telegraph code language), the use of terminology too difficult for the average listener, is another grave defect in our agitation and propaganda.

One crass example of this happened in Western Pennsylvania during the miners' strike in 1931. A member of the Y.C.L. addressed a mass meeting of over a hundred striking miners. During the twenty minutes of his speech he traveled all over the



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globe but did not stay for one minute in the territory of the strike. The young comrade seemed to have been informed about the revolution in China, the struggles in India and other parts of the world but not about the immediate problems agitating the miners. The speaker also used, throughout his speech, code language, such as R.O.T.C., C.O.T.C., words like *imperialism* and *imperialist contradictions*, etc., etc. The miners sat there patiently listening to something which they could not comprehend.

Such speeches and such an approach to problems can only result in driving the masses from us instead of attracting them to us. We, therefore, must examine our work and correct these defects as soon as possible.

We can begin by taking lessons from the writings of the greatest revolutionary leader, the most effective propagandist and agitator of our time, Comrade V. I. Lenin. We are about to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the death of Lenin. This commemoration should serve as an inspiration to improve our methods.

Comrade Lenin considered this phase of the work very seriously and personally took a hand in guiding the agitation and propaganda in the Communist Party of Russia. As Comrade Krupskaya quotes Lenin:

> "Clarity in agitation and propaganda is an essential requirement. If our enemies declare and recognize that we performed wonders in the development of agitation and propaganda, this should be understood not in a superficial manner, i.e. that we had many agitators, that we used up a lot of paper, but it should be understood in a deeper sense; in a sense that the truth which is the kernal and substance of our agitation penetrated the heads of the listeners. *And from this truth we must not deviate.* (N. Krupskaya—*Lenin as Propagandist and Agitator*, Russian ed., p. 3.)

Comrade Krupskaya characterizes Lenin as a propagandist in the following way:

> "Deep conviction was the characteristic feature of Lenin as a propagandist.
>
> "A deep knowledge of the subject was the second characteristic feature of Lenin as a propagandist.
>
> "The specific quality of Lenin as a propagandist consisted in his ability to tie up theory with living reality; this made the theory understandable by the masses and gave meaning to the objective reality. Thus Lenin was able to transform theory into a guide to action.
>
> "Thorough and careful preparation for a speech or lecture was another feature of Lenin.
>
> "Lenin, the propagandist, knew how to win the audience, how to establish the closest contact with the audience. He approached workers, peasants and others not in the manner of a superior but

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as a comrade, as a friend. He looked upon his listeners not as 'objects of propaganda', but as living human beings who suffered much, who need guidance and who expect a clear answer to their questions.

"The ability to speak his thoughts simply, the comradely approach to the audience, constituted a strong force in Lenin's propaganda, which, because of that was especially fruitful and effective." (N. Krupskaya, *Lenin as Propagandist and Agitator.*)

### NO ARTIFICIAL SEPARATION OF AGITATION FROM PROPAGANDA

While agitation and propaganda have their respective functions and we should be in a position to distinguish one from the other, we must not build any artificial barriers between the two. An agitator who merely spouts revolutionary phrases or slogans, who merely arouses the emotion of the listeners without at the same time supplying clarification of the problem agitating the masses, is often worthless. Agitation and propaganda should blend.

Lenin deals with this question in the following manner:

"Agitation and propaganda are inseparably linked. Agitation, however, takes the foremost place today due to the present political conditions in Russia and due to the low political level of the working masses." (*Problems of the Russian Social-Democracy*, 1898.)

"Agitation among the workers consists in the active participation of the Social-Democrats [the name "Social-Democratic Labor Party" was the official name of the Party in the period when this article was written] in the spontaneous struggles of the working class, in all the clashes of the workers with the capitalists: the struggles for shorter hours, higher wages, better conditions on the jobs, etc., etc. Our problem is to fuse this activity with the practical living problems in the lives of the workers; to help the workers in clarifying those problems; to call to the attention of the workers the most important manifestations of abuse; to help them to formulate in a political manner their demands of the bosses; to develop in the workers the consciousness of their solidarity, the cosnciousness of their common interests and common aim of all Russian workers as one united working class, which is a part of the international army of the proletariat. . . ." (Lenin's Works, Russian ed., Vol. II, p. 173.)

We see that Comrade Lenin was opposed to an artificial separation of agitation from propaganda. Nevertheless he considered it necessary to define clearly the qualities required of an agitator and of a propagandist. In polemizing against Martynov's formulations of the meaning of agitation and propaganda Lenin said:

"Up till now we thought (with Plekhanov, and with all the other leaders of the international labor movement), that a propagandist, dealing, say, with the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalistic nature of crises, the reasons why crises are

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> inevitable in modern society, must describe how present society must inevitably become transformed into socialist society, etc. In a word, he must present "many ideas", so many that they will be understood as a whole only by a (comparatively) few persons. An agitator, however, speaking on the same subject will take as an illustration a fact that is most widely known and outstanding among his audience—say the death from starvation of the family of an unemployed worker, the growing impoverishment, etc.—and utilizing this illustration, will direct all his efforts to present *a single idea* to the "masses", i.e., the idea of the senseless contradiction between the increase of wealth and increase of poverty; he will strive to *rouse* discontent and indignation among the masses against the crying injustice and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the propagandist. Consequently, the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the *printed* word; the agitator operates with the *living* word. The qualities that are required of an agitator are not the same as the qualities that are required of a propagandist" (Lenin—*What Is to Be Done?* p. 65, International Publishers.)

Lenin insisted again and again that agitation must be linked with theory, that in our agitation we must not limit ourselves to mere slogans or appeals; there must be content. He carried on a relentless struggle against the underestimation of theory:

> "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism is combined with absorption in the narrowest forms of practical activity."

Further in the same work Lenin says:

> "Is it sufficient to confine oneself to the propaganda of working-class hostility to autocracy? Of course not. It is not enough to *explain* to the workers that they are politically oppressed (any more than it was to *explain* to them that their interests were antagonistic to the interests of the employers). Advantage must be taken of every concrete example of this oppression for the purpose of agitation (in the same way as we beegan to use concrete examples of economic oppression for the purpose of agitation), and inasmuch as *political* oppression affects all sorts of classes in society, inasmuch as it manifests itself in various spheres of life and activity, in indutrial life, civic life, in personal and family life, in religious life, scientific life, etc. etc., is it not evident that *we shall not be fulfilling* our task of developing the*political exposure of autocracy in all its aspects?* In order to agitate over concrete examples of oppression, these examples must be exposed (in the same way as it was necessary to expose factory evils in order to carry on economic agitation)." (Lenin—*What Is to Be Done?* p. 57, International Publishers.)

Lenin tied up agitation not only with propaganda but also with the question of organization. He fought against the tendency of building up a stone wall between the two.

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The genius of Comrade Lenin in penetrating these problems, his direct criticism of the shortcomings of the movement, supplied us with material which should be studied by every Party member. His criticism of the then existing Social-Democratic circles carrying on work among the masses, can very well be applied to our own units, sections, shop nuclei, etc. What should be done in order that the workers may acquire political knowledge?—Lenin answers this as follows:

> "The reply to this question cannot be merely the one which, in the majority of cases, the practical workers, especially those who are inclined towards Economism, usually content themselves with, i. e., 'go among the workers.' To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social-Democrats must *go among all classes of the population*, must dispatch units of their army *in all directions* . . .
>
> "Take the type of Social-Democratic circle that has been most widespread during the past few years, and examine its work. It has "contact with workers", it issues leaflets—in which abuses in the factories, the government's partiality towards the capitalists, and the tyranny of the police are strongly condemned—and rests content with this. At meetings of workers, there are either no discussions or they do not extend beyond such subjects. Lectures and discussions on the history of the revolutionary movement, on the questions of the home and foreign policy of our government, and the position of the various classes in modern society, etc., are extremely rare . . .
>
> "The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but *a tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; he must be able to group all these manifestaitons into a single picture of police violence and captialist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every petty event in order to explain his Socialistic convictions and his Social-Democratic demands *to all*, in order to explain *to all* and every one the world historical significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." (Lenin—*What Is to Be Done?* pp. 76 to 78, International Publishers.)

The immediate task for our Party is to improve our methods of agitation and propaganda. These phases of our work have been generally weak. We must pay more attention to the development of more and better agitators; we must develop more theoretical forces, both for propaganda work and educational work in the Party. The departments of agitation and propaganda in the various districts of the Party must be strengthened.

Our daily press, especially the *Daily Worker*, is the most important instrument in the agitation and propaganda of the Party. The *Daily Worker* has made considerable improvement within the last three or four months. It has succeded in simplifying the lan-

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guage, but it is still too heavy in many instances. Through its editorials, special articles, etc., the *Daily Worker* is a real aid to our comrades in clarifying the position of the Party on many important problems. The *Daily Worker* should be used by every agitator, propagandist and teacher in the Communist movement.

Lenin considered as most important the utilization of the Central Organ of the Party in the work of agitation and propaganda. In a letter written to the newspaper *The Worker* in 1905, Lenin said:

> "It is necessary in every possible way to utilize the Central Organ in the local agitation, not only by reprinting the articles and slogans from the Central Organ, and adapting them to the local conditions; it is especially important to exchange opinions with reference to those articles and slogans, to send in criticism and thus help to correct errors, to improve the Organ and to acquaint the workers with the fact that we have a Central Organ." (*Lenin's Works*, Russian ed., Vol. VIII, p. 165.)

Our agitational and propaganda literature, especially pamphlets, must be written in language which can be understood by the average worker. We should pay attention not only to the content but also to the external form of our literature. A pamphlet printed in very small type, on bad paper, will not be read by the majority; and even if we succeed in selling the pamphlet, it is wasted as far as our object is concerned.

We must allow our members sufficient time for theoretical training. The selection of speakers and the assignment of topics is another important problem. Very often we send speakers to workers' clubs and forums, who are not politically mature; we give them topics which they are not in a position to handle. This is detrimental to the Party. A good method is to give each speaker one topic which he can make a study of and be prepared to handle correctly.

The Y.C.L. should receive special attention in political development. The younger generation can be developed, trained politically much faster than the older comrades. The trade union cadres are in dire need of political education. It is only by concerted action on our part that we can overcome our weakness in the matter of agitation and propaganda.

*Let us learn from our great leader and teacher—V. I. Lenin.*

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# Directives on Work Within the A. F. of L. and Independent Trade Unions

*(Recently submitted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., to the Party Districts.)*

UP TO the present time, the work of the Party in the A. F. of L. remains very weak. It would be the greatest mistake now to underestimate the importance of work within the ranks of the A. F. of L. and within independent trade unions. The rapid liquidation of the weaknesses of our work in the A. F. of L. is dictated by changed circumstances, which are witnessed by the growth of strikes, the desire of workers to enter into trade unions, the policy of the bourgeoisie to transform the A. F. of L. into a mass organization, which will be capable of disorganizing the struggles of the workers, the left maneuvers of the A. F. of L. on the question of wages and shorter work week, its leadership of strikes, its organizational measures, such as lowering initiation fees, etc., which has the aim of facilitating the entrance of the masses of workers into A. F. of L. unions; the recruiting campaign of the A. F. of L. resulting in an influx into their unions, according to our information, of half a million new members. In spite of the active collaboration of the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the Rosevelt administration and its attempts to break the important miners' strike; the unwillingness or fear of the workers who want to enter into the trade unions, to enter into revolutionary trade unions because of bosses' economic and political terror, the illusions of workers that it is possible to obtain satisfaction of their demands without serious struggle and also because of the weak and sectarian work of the revolutionary trade unions, only some tens of thousands of workers have entered into our trade unions.

All this makes it necessary that the Party in its work should pay the most serious attention to the organization of opposition work within the mass unions, to participate actively in all local A. F. of L. union meetings, to organize opposition work in the unions and in the factories, to establish systematic work for the Party fractions in the A. F. of L. to fight from within for elected officials in the locals and for winning over these locals, to develop the initiative of the



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membership in placing a number of questions of inner life of the union in the struggle against the employers, that members of the A. F. of L. unions should demand that the union carry through strikes and the election of strike committees at general meetings of all striking workers.

Especially does this most serious strengthening of the work in the A. F. of L. apply to the miners, textile workers, building workers and railroad workers. But it is equally imperative that we strengthen the opposition work in the existing A. F. of L. organizations and in every mass organization where the A. F. of L. succeeds in organizating such unions as the Federal unions in the steel and automobile industry.

It is necessary to achieve the immediate carrying through of the directives regarding the obligations of the members of the Party to become members of trade unions. This question is to be once more explained in the Party. In order to achieve this the Party must in the above mentioned industries, in the first place, and in the most important centers, examine the situation in order to give for this work our best forces, to give means for this work and to show how it is necessary to organize, what concrete questions and slogans must be raised in each place, having in view that the work must proceed on the basis of struggle against the Roosevelt law, against worsening of conditions of work and lowering of wages, for the shorter work week without reduction in pay, against rationalization, for social insurance, for recognition of unions and independent workers' organizations in the factories, for the right to strike and picket against compulsory arbitration, against the treacherous and splitting tactics of the trade union bureaucracy, for trade union democracy, against expulsion and for reinstatement of opposition elements and organizations, for lower initiation and for cutting the higher salaries of the A. F. of L. officials, against corruption, for unconditional elections and regular accounting for all trade union bodies before the trade union membership and for election of honest workers to these bodies.

The *Daily Worker* must from day to day popularize these questions. In this work we must strive to utilize the existing Muste opposition, not, however, turning the united front with them on concrete questions of struggle into a united front from the top of unlimited meetings, negotiations, etc. On the contrary, to attract by concrete actions on our side the honest elements from amongst the Musteites and expose those who are the agents of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

The second task which in the present circumstances also demands serious attention is the necessity of work within the independent

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unions, where such unions already exist and to organize such unions in those places where the workers don't believe in the A. F. of L. or where there are no A. F. of L. unions but where the workers fear to enter into the Red unions or where our influence is insufficient for the organization of mass Red unions. Otherwise our enemies have an opportunity to utilize the desire of the workers to join the independent unions in order to isolate the workers from us. It is necessary in all the independent unions to conduct energetic organizational and ideological work, to participate together with them in strikes, to fight together with them on concrete questions in order to secure in these unions the influence over those elements who honestly fight for the interests of the workers, and isolate the supporters of the A. F. of L. leaders and the employers.

Depending on the concrete situation, we can place the question of one or the other form of organization or collaboration of the revolutionary unions with the independent unions, such as joint delegates' conferences, contact commissions, the organization of federations, etc.

However, it must be understood that the work of the revolutionary unions must not be weakened; on the contrary, the better and the more energetically will the revolutionary unions of the miners, textile workers, steel workers, automobile workers and others work, the more sucessfully will we isolate the A. F. of L. leaders within their unions and win over the local A. F. of L. organizations. The revolutionary unions must strengthen their cadres in the most important centers and especially in the lower units. They must issue their papers regularly. The revolutionary steel and automobile workers' unions must in the first place carry on the most energetic recruiting campaign to develop united front actions together with the A. F. of L. locals and independent unions and to promote cadres from the new non-Party workers.

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# The Place of Lenin's 'Imperialism' Among Classics of Marxism*

LENIN calls his book, *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, "a popular outline". In reality, however, this book occupies an exclusive position in all Marxist literature devoted to imperialism. One of the most important major works of Lenin, it is linked closely with Marx's *Capital*. The development of Lenin's theory of imperialism in this book is a direct continuation of Marx's theory of capitalism. Marx uncovered the fundamental economic and class contradictions of capitalism and the laws of its development. He thus gave a scientific economic foundation to his teaching of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But neither Marx nor Engels lived to see the full development of imperialism. They witnessed merely its first steps (primarily in England). They therefore could foresee only in general outline the peculiarities and consequences of this new and highest stage of the development of capitalism. In the development of capitalist combinations (stock companies, trusts, syndicates), in the growing centralization of production and its concentration in the hands of small groups of the biggest capitalists ("magnates of capital") and in the growth of their *monopoly*, *i. e.*, of their exclusive domination over the national economy, Marx and Engels already foresaw the advance of an epoch when further capitalist development would become impossible and when the breakdown of capitalism would ensue.

It is just this epoch that Marx had in mind when he stated in Volume I of *Capital* (Chapter 24, p. 846, International Publishers, 1929) that:

> "While there is thus a progressive diminution in the number of the capitalist magnates, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this transformative process (*i.e.*, the transformation that produces capitalism in the technique of production and the entire national economy.—*Ed.*), there occurs a corresponding increase in the mass of poverty, oppression, enslavement, degeneration and exploitation; but at the same time there is a steady intensification

* Reprinted from Explanatory Notes to the Revised Translation of Lenin's *Imperialism*, just issued by International Publishers (pp. 117 to 120). This note was prepared by the Marx-Lenin-Engels Institute.



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> of the wrath of the working class—a class which grows ever more numerous, and is disciplined, unified and organized by the very mechanism of the capitalist method of production. Capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter upon the method of production which has flourished with it and under it. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor reach a point where they prove incompatible with their capitalist husk. This bursts asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

And it is this very stage of the development of capitalism as its highest and final stage that Engels has in mind in his *Anti-Duehring* when speaking of the "monopoly" of the trusts. He says there that "not a single people would reconcile itself to a system of production that is regulated by trusts with the undisguised exploitation of society as a whole by a small band of coupon-clippers." He states that even the passing of production into the hands of the capitalist state (*i.e.*, State capitalism in a bourgeois State) will not save capitalism from destruction because by such a transfer "capitalist relationships are not set aside but are, on the contrary, made more acute; this intensification however will be the last step in their development." But all this was only a forecast in the most general terms. Marx and Engels could not as yet observe the peculiarities of the new epoch of monopoly capitalism (or in other words, imperialism) in their *developed* state.

To uncover these peculiarities, to show what new and much sharper forms are assumed by the development of the economic and class contradictions of capitalism during the epoch of imperialism, in what manner they transform this epoch into the "eve of socialism" and into the epoch of proletarian revolutions, creating all the necessary preliminary conditions for it—all this fell to the share of Lenin. By accomplishing this task in his book, *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin supplied a scientific foundation for the further development of the Marxist teaching of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for its transformation into what we now call Leninism. Leninism grew on the theoretical base of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism, and Lenin's teaching of proletarian revolution and dictatorship in each of its propositions rests on that understanding of Marxism which is unfolded in this book of Lenin. The Leninist teaching of imperialism lies at the foundation of the program of the All-Union Communist Party as well as the program of the Communist International as a whole. This teaching served for Lenin himself, has served and and continues to serve for our Party and the Communist International as a whole, as the starting point for the solution of all

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the questions of strategy and tactics of the struggle against capitalism, all the time, from the imperialist war until the present. This teaching also serves as a mighty weapon both in the struggle against the Second International, against the theoretical justification of imperialism, against the obsequiousness and subservience to imperialism on the part of that International, and in the struggle against the opportunist "left" and "right" currents in the Communist Parties themselves.

The Second International, in the person of its "theoreticians" such as Hilferding and Company, explains its policy of betrayal of the working class and obsequiousness to the bourgeoisie by the theory of so-called "organized capitalism," *i.e.*, of capitalism that is presumably able precisely in the epoch of imperialism to eliminate the contradictions sundering it and to create production without crises developing in accordance with a plan. This theory of the Second International serves at present as the basis for its denial of the proletarian revolution, of its struggle against the revolution and for its opportunist teaching of the growing into socialism through colloboration with the bourgeoisie, through so-called "political and economic democracy". One of the sources of this theory of "organized capitalism," its original expression, was the theory of "ultra-imperialism" ("super-imperialism") of Kautsky which had its origin simultaneously with the Leninist teaching of imperialism, during the period of the imperialist war, and it was especially created to vindicate social-chauvinism. This theory forecast a development of imperialism that would do away with the contradictions of capitalism, first of all in the international sphere by means of "the unification of the imperialisms of the entire world" and the abolition of war, by means of "internationally consolidated finance capital". Lenin in *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (See Chapters VII and IX) and in another pamphlet written at an earlier date, *The Collapse of the Second International* (see Chapters 4 and 9; V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 273-322; reprinted in *Little Lenin Library*, Vol. 2, pp. 7-55) gave an annihilating criticism of this theory of "ultra-imperialism" as "ultra-rubbish," as an anti-Marxist reformist theory *dulling the contradictions of capitalism*. By this criticism and his entire teaching of imperialism as the epoch of the *greatest intensification* of all the contradictions of capitalism, Lenin supplied an irreplaceable weapon for the struggle against the modern opportunist theory of organized capital preached by the leaders of the Second International.

Trotskyism, together with the group of Zinoviev-Kamenev, opposing in 1924-1927 Lenin's teaching of the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country, a teaching based on Lenin's

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understanding of imperialism, really continued that struggle against Leninism that was conducted by Trotsky during the imperialist war. During the years of the war, Trotskyism, as was shown by Lenin in a series of articles, passed from disguised liquidatorship to social-chauvinism disguised by "Marxian phrases," joining in this respect Kautsky and Company. At that time Trotsky opposed the Leninist slogans of converting the imperialist war into civil war and of the victory of socialism gained at first in one or several countries. As against these Leninist slogans, Trotsky supported the slogan of a United States of Europe, "without monarchies and standing armies," *i.e.*, the slogan of the bourgeois democratic unification of Europe which in his opinion was an indispensable condition for the victory of the Socialist revolution. This slogan of Trotsky was nothing else but a Kautskian recognition of the possibility of "the unification of the imperialisms" of Europe into a single European super-imperialism. He attributed to "modern economy", *i.e.*, to imperialism, "a really liberating historical mission; the construction of a unified world economy, independent of national frontiers and State-customs toll gates" (Trotsky, "Program of Peace," *War and Revolution*, Vol. II, pp. 477-503, Russian edition). Out of this very unification of world economy under imperialism, Trotsky drew the conclusion as to the impossibility of a lasting victory of the proletarian revolution and the building of socialism in any one country, especially in Russia. Thus, Trotsky's denial of the victory of socialism in one country had its basis in the anti-Leninist, Kautskyian, reformist conception of imperialism. The Trotsky struggle against Leninism during the years of the war was a struggle that had its basis in Kautskyianism and in reality remained on that basis in 1925-1927. Lenin's teaching of imperialism and his annihilating criticism of Kautskyianism and Trotskyism during the years of the war gave our Party an irreplaceable weapon also for victory over Trotskyism during the period of the Fourteenth to the Fifteenth Congresses.

A similarly irreplaceable weapon was supplied by these teachings also for the struggle against right opportunism in the ranks of the All-Union Communist Party. In the questions concerning the conception of imperialism this right opportunism also degenerated into the theory of "organized capitalism" developed out of the Kautskyian "super-imperialism." As early as during the period of the imperialist war, Comrade Bukharin uttered thoughts bringing his viewpoint on imperialism very close to that of Kautsky and Hilferding. In Bukharin's work, *Imperialism and World Economy*, written in 1915, we find:

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> "... There is a process taking place transforming capital divided into 'national' groups into a single world organization, a universal world trust opposed by the world proletariat.
>
> "Speaking in an abstract, theoretical way such a trust is perfectly thinkable, for, generally speaking, there is no economic limit to the process of cartelization." (Page 135.)

The author proceeds to quote Hilferding on the possibility of a single trust, announcing his complete agreement with Hilferding on this question.

No less characteristic are Comrade Bukharin's arguments on this question in his later theoretical work, *Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital* (1925, Russian edition). Here, too, "considering the question from an abstract theoretical point of view," Comrade Bukharin writes about "the *collective-capitalist order* (State capitalism), where the capitalist class is united into a single trust and where consequently we have an *organized*, but at the same time, from the *class point of view*, an antagonistic economy." From this he draws the following conclusion:

> "Hence no crisis of overproduction is *here* (with a single trust. —*Ed.*) *possible of arising*. The course of production runs smoothly. The stimulus of production and of the production plan is the consumption of the capitalist." (Page 84, *Editor's italics.*)

Starting from the point of view of the possibility of planned economy under imperialism, Bukharin stage by stage comes in his well-known articles in the *Pravda* of May 26 and June 30, 1929 ("Some Problems of Modern Capitalism as Treated by Theorists of the Bourgeoisie" and "Theory of Organized Economic Anarchy") to the opportunist evalution of the contemporary period of imperialism. To be sure, he no longer speaks of a single *world* trust, of the possibility of a planned *world* economy. Instead, however, Bukharin goes to another no less opportunist extreme. All the contradictions of imperialism and all their intensification is transferred by Comrade Bukharin to the international field and in that way all the possibilities of proletarian revolutions are linked *exclusively* with the sharpening of international contradictions, international clashes between imperialist countries and for that reason with the inevitability of imperialist wars. Instead of the "abstract" possibility of "a single *world* trust," we now have, according to Bukharin, the real possibility of a single trust *within* the individual imperialist country, in the form of "State capitalism," which, in his opinion, signifies "the dying off of competition *within* the capitalist country and the greatest *sharpening* of the competition between capitalist countries." This means nothing else than the possibility of a crisis-less, planned development of capitalism within the individual capitalist countries,

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and consequently, not the sharpening but the dulling of the contradictions of capitalism within these countries. The opportunism of this theory is quite apparent, it approaches very closely the argumentation of the "theorists" of the Second International concerning organized capitalism, inasmuch as it is concerned with the "dying off of competition" and capitalism without crises *within* the imperialist countries. On the other hand, this theory cannot possibly be reconciled with the Leninist teaching of the imperialist epoch as an epoch of the greatest sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism, not merely of the international contradictions but also of the contradictions within each imperialist country. In subjecting in his book, *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, the viewpoints of Kautsky and the bourgeois economists on imperialism to the most devastating criticism, Lenin rejects as a "fable spread by bourgeois economists who at all costs want to put capitalism in a favorable light" (page 27) all suggestions of the possibility of a planned economy without crises in the epoch of imperialism. He proves that in this epoch, on the contrary, monopoly "increases and intensifies the state of chaos inherent in capitalist production *as a whole*" (*ibid.*) *notwithstanding* the development of combinations of capitalists, notwithstanding the aspiration of monopoly capitalism to destroy free competition within each country. These parts of Lenin's book seem to be originally directed against contemporary right opportunism and its treatment of the present period of imperialism.

Lenin's book, *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, being the basis of the Leninist teaching of proletarian revolution, serves at the same time as the best key to the understanding of the positions and the slogans of Lenin during the period of the imperialist war and the period of the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship in Russia (1917). At the same time it serves as a key also to the struggle that was conducted by Lenin on "two fronts"—against all the various species of social-chauvinism on the one hand and against the "left" deviation in the ranks of Bolshevism at that time (the group of Bukharin-Pyatakov, etc.) on the other hand.

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# Outstanding Events in the Life of V. I. Lenin*

*Compiled by* ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

*April 2, 1870*—*V. I. Ulyanov* (Lenin) born in Simbirsk, now Ulyanovsk, capital city of province of same name. His father, I. N. Ulyanov, was head of the public schools of the province.

*August, 1879*—Enters high school (Gymnasium).

*May 20, 1887*—Execution of Alexander, Lenin's older brother, for participation in the attempt on the life of Czar Alexander III.

*June 22, 1887*—Graduates from high school.

*August 25, 1887*—Matriculates at Law Faculty of Kazan University.

*Dec. 17, 1887*—Arrested with 40 other students of Kazan University for participation in an illegal meeting.

*Dec. 19, 1887*—Expelled from the university and banished to live in a village with his grandfather.

*Fall, 1888*—Permitted to return to Kazan, though not to the university, joins Marxist circle and studies *Capital.*

*Oct. 5, 1888*—Refused permission to go abroad to study.

*Feb., 1889*—Continues his theoretical studies of Marxism and lectures to youth circles of Samara to which his family moved. Petitions Ministry of Education for permission to take law examination, which is refused. The minister marked the petition "to enquire from educational and police authorities. He is a bad man."

*Nov. 27, 1891*—Receives law degree, having passed with honors special examinations at St. Petersburg University.

*1892*—Admitted to the bar and allowed to practice law before the courts of Samara. Continues his Marxist studies and lectures before Marxist circles.

*1893*—Writes first work, *New Economic Tendencies in Peasant Life.* Comes to live and practice law in St. Petersburg. Delivers lectures in social-democratic circles.

*1894*—Actively participates in social-democratic organization. Joins propagandist group. Teaches in workers' circles. Writes first large work, *Who Are the "Friends of the People" and How They*

* Based upon material prepared for the Lenin's *Collected Works* by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.



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*Fight the Social-Democrats*, a polemic against the Populists, who were attacking Marxism. Reads a paper on "Reflection of Marxism in Bourgeois Literature" before a group of leading Marxists.

*January, 1895*—Leads in preparatory work for the unification of social-democratic groups of workers into a central organization.

*May-September, 1895*—Leaves for Switzerland to establish connections with the group "Liberation of Toil" (Plekhanov, Axelrod, etc.). Meets Kautsky in Berlin, Lafargue in Paris, and studies writings in the libraries of those cities.

*November, 1895*—Upon return to Russia, heads central social-democratic organization in Petersburg, leads in the agitation and propaganda among factory workers, writes leaflets, contributes articles and writes pamphlet dealing with fines enforced upon workers.

*Dec. 20, 1895*—Arrested in St. Petersburg.

*1896*—While in prison keeps in contact with social-democratic organization, writes leaflets and articles which are smuggled out and published. Prepared the outline for an extensive study of the development of capitalism in Russia.

*Feb. 10, 1897*—Exiled to Siberia for three years.

*May 20, 1897*—Arrived at village Shushenkoye, Yenisey province, where he settles to live. Continues contact with social-democratic organizations in Russia and abroad, writes pamphlets, articles, and works on *Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

*1898*—While in exile in Siberia, elected editor of official party organ, *Robotshaya Gazeta*, by First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

*July 22, 1898*—N. K. Krupskaya and Lenin are married.

*September-October, 1898*—Completes *Developments of Capitalism in Russia* and translates *The Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

*1899*—Continues literary activity and corresponds with leading Marxists in exile in Siberia regarding questions of program, building of the party in Russia and the establishment of a central party organ.

*Feb. 11, 1900*—Ends exile and returns to European Russia.

*June 3, 1900*—Arrested in St. Petersburg, but released after ten days.

*July 29, 1900*—Leaves for Germany to begin publication in Munich of first revolutionary Marxist periodical, the *Iskra*.

*December, 1900*—Writes *What Is To Be Done*.

*July to August, 1903*—Participates at Second Congress of Social-Democratic Party, where the split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took place, with Lenin as leader of the former.

*Nov. 20, 1905*—Returns to St. Petersburg during the first Russian Revolution.

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*May 9, 1907*—Goes to London to attend the Fifth Congress of the Party and remains abroad.

*Sept., 1908*—Completes *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.*

*August, 1914*—Outbreak of war finds Lenin in Galicia, where he had gone to be nearer to Russia. Arrested and deported.

*Sept. 5-8, 1915*—Actively participates at the Zimmerwald (Switzerland) Conference of internationalist socialist elements, where he leads the left wing.

*March 15, 1917*—News of overthrow of the Czar and establishment of a provisional government reached Lenin in Zurich.

*Spring, 1917*—Completes *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*

*March 20-April 8, 1917*—Lenin writes *Letters From Afar*, giving his position on the nature of the February Revolution and the tasks before the Russian working class.

*April 16, 1917*—Arrives in Petrograd and is received at the station by large delegations of workers and soldiers.

*April-May, 1917*—Attends Bolshevik Conference, at which his program and policies regarding the Russian Revolution are accepted.

*August-September, 1917*—Writes *State and Revolution.*

*July-November, 1917*—Lives in hiding, moving from place to place, but keeps in constant touch with Bolshevik leaders. Writes for the Party press and to the Central Committee urging preparation for armed uprising.

*Nov. 6, 1917*—Returns disguised to Smolny Institute, headquarters of the Bolshevik Party and assumes direct leadership of final preparations for armed uprising.

*Nov. 7, 1917*—Kerensky government overthrown, and power passes into the hands of the Soviets. Soviet Government organized with Lenin as chairman of Council of People's Commissars.

*August 30, 1918*—Attempt on his life made by member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. The wound inflicted by a revolver shot, although serious, healed and Lenin was able to return to work.

*March 2, 1919*—Opens First Congress of Comintern.

*December, 1919*—First illness.

*April-May, 1920*—Writes *"Left" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.*

*May 26, 1922*—Partial paralytic stroke.

*November 13, 1922*—Recovers sufficiently to be able to address Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

*Nov. 20, 1922*—Speaks at the plenary session of the Moscow Soviet which proves to be his last public appearance.

*Jan. 21, 1924*—V. I. Lenin, the founder of the first Soviet State and the Communist International, and the greatest teacher and leader of the world's workers since Marx and Engels, died at Gorki, near Moscow.

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